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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 5, March 1985

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28 June 1985

## USSR REPORT

### TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 5, March 1985

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

### CONTENTS

Information Report on the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.....	1
Speech by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev at the Opening of the 11 March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.....	3
Speech by Comrade A. A. Gromyko at the 11 March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.....	5
Speech by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the 11 March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.....	8
Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.....	13
Address of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers to the Communist Party and the Soviet People.....	15
Speech by M. S. Gorbachev at the 13 March 1985 Funeral.....	18
Topical Problems in the Development of Computer Technology (V. Vinokurov, K. Zuyev).....	21
The Potential of the Experiment (A. Prigozhin).....	35
Basic Task of the Agrarian Economy (L. Florent'yev).....	48
Methodological Seminars in the Party Training System (V. Zakharov).....	61
Lenin, Revolution, Socialism (Jesus Faria).....	72

Thirty Years of Struggle for National Independence and Socialism (Kaysone Phomvihane) .....	85
Party's Vanguard Role at the Present Stage of the Angolan Revolution (Jose Eduardo dos Santos) .....	101
Who Fears the Truth? (Savva Dangulov) .....	114
Emblem of Quality and Quality of Emblem (Ye. Yefimov) .....	128
Essential Feature of the Socialist Way of Life (Ya. Parkhomovskiy) .....	135
Experience Is Our Common Property (M. S. Solomentsev) .....	142
Valuable and Timely Publication (A. Narochnitkiy, V. Sirotkin) .....	156

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## INFORMATION REPORT ON THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

PM121005 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85)  
pp 3-4

[Text] A special plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held on 11 March 1985.

On instruction of the Central Committee Politburo, the plenum was opened by Politburo member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev.

In connection with the death of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR K. U. Chernenko, the participants in the meeting honored the memory of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko with a minute of mournful silence.

The plenum noted that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet people had suffered a grave loss. An outstanding party leader and statesman, a patriot and internationalist, a consistent champion of the triumph of the ideals of communism and peace on earth has passed away.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko devoted his entire life to the cause of the Leninist party and the interests of the Soviet people. Whatever post he was assigned by the party, he invariably fought with characteristic selflessness for translating the CPSU's policy into life.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko paid much attention to the consistent implementation of the course toward perfecting developed socialism, resolving major tasks of economic and social development, raising the well-being and cultural level of the Soviet people, further enhancing the creative activity of the masses, improving ideological work and strengthening discipline, law and order.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko made a great contribution to further developing all-around cooperation with fraternal countries of socialism, conducting socialist economic integration and strengthening the positions of the socialist community. Under his leadership, the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems were firmly and consistently translated into life, a resolute rebuff was given to aggressive machinations of imperialism, and tireless struggle was waged for ending the

imperialist-imposed arms race, for averting the threat of nuclear war and for ensuring the reliable security of the peoples.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko cherished as the apple of his eye the unity of our communist party and collective character of the activities of the Central Committee and its Politburo. He was always striving to ensure that party work at all levels was a close-knit, well geared and spirited organism. He considered the unity of thoughts and actions of the communists as a token of all our successes, surmounting of the shortcomings, a token of steady progress.

The plenum stressed that on these sorrowful days the communists, the entire Soviet people are rallying even closer around the party's Central Committee and its Politburo. The Soviet people with full reason regard the party as the leading and guiding force of society and are fully determined to work selflessly for the realization of the Leninist domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU.

The plenum delegates expressed deep condolences to the family and relatives of the deceased.

The plenum considered the question of electing the general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

As instructed by the Politburo, a speech on this question was delivered by Politburo Member Andrey Gromyko. He introduced a motion to elect Comrade Gorbachev, M. S., general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum unanimously elected Comrade M. S. Gorbachev general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Then the plenum was addressed by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He expressed deep gratitude for the high trust placed in him by the CPSU Central Committee and pointed out that he is well aware of how great is the responsibility connected to it.

Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, assured the CPSU Central Committee that he will do his utmost to faithfully serve our party, our people and that great Leninist cause, for the CPSU's program guidelines to be unswervingly implemented, for continuity to be ensured in the accomplishment of tasks, to further strengthen the economic and defense might of the USSR, to raise the well-being of the Soviet people and to strengthen peace, and for the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state to be persistently translated into life.

At that the Central Committee plenum ended its work.

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CSO: 1802/11

SPEECH BY COMRADE M. S. GORBACHEV AT THE OPENING OF THE 11 MARCH 1985  
CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85) p 5

[M. S. Gorbachev's speech at the opening of the 11 March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Comrades!

The sad news has reached all of us. The heart of our friend and comrade, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, our party's Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, stopped beating yesterday, at 7:20 pm.

As a loyal party soldier, Konstantin Ustinovich remained at his combat post to the end. Until the very last days of his life he dedicated his strength, experience and knowledge to the cause of Lenin's party, to the service of which he had dedicated his entire life. As a tireless worker, experienced and talented organizer and manager profoundly loyal to Lenin's ideas, he made a great contribution to the shaping and implementation of CPSU domestic and foreign policy at this difficult and responsible stage.

Those who had the occasion to be in touch with Konstantin Ustinovich professionally will remember him forever as a sensitive and attentive comrade, a person of tremendous work capability, delicate and simple in contacts with people.

The loss of our comrade, friend and leader demands of us to rally even more closely our ranks and to pursue with even greater energy our common cause in the name of the great objectives of the communist party and for the sake of the good and happiness of the Soviet people and lasting peace on earth.

Comrades, please rise in honor of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's memory.

The single item on the plenum's agenda is the following: the election of a CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Any remarks?

The plenum's agenda is hereby approved.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, Politburo member, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR minister of foreign affairs, has the floor.

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SPEECH BY COMRADE A. A. GROMYKO AT THE 11 MARCH 1985 CPSU CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85) pp 6-7

[Speech by A. A. Gromyko at the 11 March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Comrades! I have been instructed to submit for consideration by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum a motion on the nomination of the Central Committee general secretary. The Politburo has unanimously recommended the election of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the position of general secretary (sustained applause).

I would like to share with the members of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee candidate members, the members of the Central Auditing Commission and all those present the content of the discussions on this item and the atmosphere in which they took place.

The main thought which was emphasized was that all of Mikhail Sergeyevich's activities in the implementation of our domestic and foreign policy prove that he is worthy of his election as CPSU Central Committee general secretary. His tremendous experience in party work, initially on the level of a kray and subsequently here, at the center, in the Central Committee, first as secretary and subsequently as Politburo member, was emphasized. As we know, he headed the Secretariat. He also chaired Politburo sessions in the absence of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko. It would be no exaggeration whatsoever to say that he proved to be brilliant.

What else was emphasized? Along with party experience, which is a priceless gift, the speakers emphasized that this is a man of principle, a man of strong convictions. Those who have met him and discussed with him various problems could confirm this, and so could I, personally. He always goes to the heart of the problem and its content and principles. He expresses his views in a straightforward manner, whether his interlocutor likes it or perhaps does not like it entirely. He expresses himself with a directness, a Leninist directness, leaving it to his interlocutor to part company in a good or bad mood. If he is a true communist, he should leave in a good mood; such, incidentally, was the case, something which was also emphasized.

In discussing the matter in the Politburo, it was said that Mikhail Sergeyevich is a person with a sharp and deep mind and that anyone who has met

him even once would confirm this. As is frequently the case, domestic and foreign problems are very difficult to consider in "black and white" terms. Intermediary colors, intermediary links and intermediary solutions may exist. Mikhail Sergeyevich has always been able to find solutions consistent with the party line. This was unanimously emphasized. It was precisely this that was and remains the main criterion in assessing the views held by one comrade or another or one institution or another in the evaluation of a problem.

The following should be said as well: this is somewhat clearer to me than to some other comrades because of my longevity of service. He can grasp quite well and quickly the nature of the processes taking place outside our country, in the international arena. I personally have been frequently astounded by his ability to grasp quickly and accurately the essence of things and to draw accurate, party-oriented conclusions.

Another well-known thing is that Mikhail Sergeyevich is a person of great erudition in terms of education and practical experience. Naturally, all of this makes it easier for him to find proper solutions. Here is another foreshortening: had this been a scientific forum, everyone would probably say that this is a person who can display an analytical approach to the problem. This is the truth. His ability in this respect is brilliant: he can break down a problem before drawing a conclusion. He can not only properly analyze the problem but make summations and draw conclusions as well. Occasionally politics requires not just the slicing up of a problem or part of a problem, which would leave them inert, but also to draw conclusions which could be applied in our politics. He has frequently proved his ability to do so at Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat sessions.

The comrades also unanimously agreed that Mikhail Sergeyevich has a party-oriented approach to people and possesses the great skill of organizing them and finding a common language with them. Not everyone can do this. Call it what you wish--a gift of nature or society. It is most likely a gift of both. Not everyone has it. In any case, not everyone has it to the same degree. He has this quality.

Furthermore, we live in a type of world in which, figuratively speaking, a variety of long-range and short-term, large and small telescopes are focused on the Soviet Union, more of the long-range variety, possibly. They are searching in hopes of finding, in the final account, some kind of crack in the Soviet leadership. I can assure you that we have been aware of such facts dozens of times and have observed them. We were, if you wish, witnesses in discussions and whispered or semiwhispered guesses: there are people abroad who are eager to see differences in the Soviet leadership. Naturally, this is not just from today or yesterday. It is a rather old phenomenon. It is the unanimous view of the Politburo that this time as well we, the party's Central Committee and Politburo, will not please our political opponents on this account (applause).

Mikhail Sergeyevich has frequently mentioned, including at Politburo meetings, the need to keep our powder dry. The corresponding decisions made at our congresses, Central Committee plenums and Politburo meetings direct the party and the people toward this policy.

Mikhail Sergeyevich's views are always distinguished by their maturity and persistence, by a party persistence in the best meaning of the term. He always supports the viewpoint that the holy of holies for all of us is to struggle for the cause of peace and to keep our defense on the necessary level.

He has a strongly developed ability to see the main links and to subordinate secondary to primary matters. This ability is a virtue, a great virtue. Therefore, the conclusion of the Politburo is accurate. We have in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev a leader of great dimensions, an outstanding personality, who will hold with distinction the position of CPSU Central Committee general secretary (sustained applause). I am confident that, like the Politburo, the Central Committee plenum will unanimously support and approve the submitted motion (sustained applause).

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SPEECH BY COMRADE M. S. GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT THE 11 MARCH 1985 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

PM121128 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85)  
pp 8-11

[Text] Dear Comrades:

A grave sorrow has befallen all of us and all our party and country. A true Leninist, an outstanding figure of the CPSU and Soviet State, the international communist movement, a man of a sensitive heart and great organizing talent, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, has passed away.

Konstantin Ustinovich traveled a long and glorious journey. At each sector the party entrusted to him, his talent and his ability to work with people was revealed ever more fully. In the office of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko gave all his efforts and knowledge to the development of our country's economy, the growth of the people's well-being and culture, ensuring the homeland's security and to maintaining and consolidating peace on earth.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko cherished as the apple of his eye the unity of our communist party and the collective nature of the activity of the Central Committee and its Politburo. He always strove to ensure that at all levels the party acted as a cohesive, harmonious and militant organism. He saw in the unity of thought and deeds of communists the guarantee of all successes and the surmounting of shortcomings and the guarantee of progressive advancement.

The strategic line formulated at the 26th Party Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums, with the active participation of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, has been and remains unchanged. This is a line toward an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and toward perfecting all sides of life of society. It is a question of the development of man himself and the qualitative improvement of the material condition of his life and work and his spiritual aspect.

We are faced with striving to achieve a decisive turning point in switching the national economy onto a track of intensive development. We must and we are committed to move to the most advanced scientific-technical positions in a short span of time and to a supreme world level in social labor productivity.

In order to tackle this task more successfully and more quickly, we must continue to improve persistently the economic mechanism and the whole system of management. In proceeding along this path and making optimum decisions we must creatively apply the basic principles of socialist management. This means steadily implementing the planned development of the economy, strengthening socialist ownership, broadening rights, enhancing the autonomy of enterprises and increasing their interest in the end results of work. This means subordinating all economic development in the final analysis to the interests of the Soviet people.

The party will undeviatingly pursue the social policy it has worked out: Everything in the name of man for the benefit of man. This programmatic position of ours must be embodied with ever fuller and more specific content. It is obvious that an improvement in the living conditions of man must be based on his growing contribution to the common cause. Whenever there is deviation from this principle there is an inevitable violation of social justice, which is a most important factor in the unity and stability of a socialist society.

The party sees as one of the fundamental tasks of its domestic policy the further perfection and development of democracy and the whole system of socialist self-government of the people. The tasks here are multifaceted. Quite a bit is being done in this respect. One has in mind here the enhancing of the role of the soviets, and the intensification of the work of the trade unions, the Komsomol, the people's control and labor collectives. Persistent work along the directions already earmarked and along new ones also lies ahead.

The deepening of socialist democracy is inseparably linked with enhancing people's social consciousness. The effectiveness of educational work is revealed above all in the way people participate in tackling problems big and small and the way in which they work and deal with shortcomings. Enhancing the labor and social activeness of Soviet people, strengthening discipline, educating them in patriotism and internationalism: These are the important tasks of all ideological activity.

Here resolute measures to further impose order and purge our life of alien phenomena and any encroachments on the interests of society and its citizens, and consolidate socialist legality will continue to be taken.

We must continue to increase the publicity given to the work of party, soviet, state and public organizations. Lenin said that the state is as strong as the conscientiousness of the masses. Our practical life has fully confirmed this conclusion. The better informed people are, the more conscientiously they operate, the more actively they support the party and its plans and program objectives.

In the sphere of foreign policy our course is clear and consistent. It is a course of peace and progress.

The first precept of the party and the state is to protect and strengthen in every way the fraternal friendship with our closest fellow workers and allies, the countries of the great socialist community. We will do everything dependent upon us to broaden interaction with all the socialist states and to enhance the role and influence of socialism in world affairs. We would like a serious improvement in relations with the PRC and consider that given reciprocity this is fully possible.

The Soviet Union has always supported the struggle of the peoples for liberation from the colonial yoke and today, too, our sympathies are on the side of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that are following the path of strengthening their independence and social renewal. To us they are friends and partners in the struggle for lasting peace and better and just relations among peoples.

As regards relations with the capitalist states, I want to say the following: We will firmly follow the Leninist course of peace and peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union will always respond to goodwill with goodwill, and to trust with trust, but everyone must know that we will never waive the interests of the motherland and its allies (applause).

We value the successes of detente achieved in the 1970s and are prepared to participate in a continuation of the process of establishing peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation between states, on principles of equality, mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs. New steps in this direction could fittingly mark the 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism.

Never before has such a frightful threat loomed over mankind as in our day. The only sensible way out of the present situation is an accord between the forces opposed to each other on the immediate cessation of the arms race, the nuclear primarily, and its banning in space; an accord on an honest and equal basis, without attempts to "outplay" the other side and dictate its conditions to it; an accord that will help us all to move forward toward the desired goal: the complete destruction and banning forever of nuclear weapons, and the full elimination of the threat of nuclear war. We are firmly convinced of this.

The negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States will begin tomorrow in Geneva. The approach of the Soviet Union to these negotiations is well known. I can only confirm yet again: We are not striving to achieve unilateral advantages over the United States or over the NATO countries, or for military superiority over them. We want a termination to the arms race and not a continuation of it, and thus we are proposing to freeze nuclear arsenals and to cease the further deployment of missiles. We want a real and major cutback in the armaments that have been stockpiled, and not the creation of more and more weapons systems, in space or on earth.

One would like for our partners in the Geneva negotiations to understand the position of the Soviet Union and to reciprocate. An agreement would then be possible, and the peoples of the world would breathe a sign of relief.

The CPSU is a party with an international outlook. The people who share our views abroad can be certain that in the struggle for peace and social progress Lenin's party as always will be cooperating closely with the fraternal communist, worker and revolutionary democratic parties and will advocate the unity and active interaction of all revolutionary forces.

Comrades, the solution of the complicated tasks facing us presupposes the further strengthening of the party, the raising of its organizing and guiding role. The CPSU has always proceeded and still proceeds from the Leninist thought that a principled policy is the only correct policy. This policy, elaborated collectively, will be implemented consistently and steadfastly. The party is precisely the force that is able to take account of the interests of all classes and social groups, all the nations and ethnic groups of the country, to unite them into a cohesive whole, and to direct the people's energy into the joint channel of communist creation.

The party's policy has been and will continue to be directed at strengthening the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, at the steadfast strengthening of the friendship among the peoples of our great multinational state.

The party will continue to develop in every way the creative initiative of young people, to show concern for improving women's working and living conditions, for the needs and requirements of war and labor veterans.

In a complicated international situation it is important now as never before to maintain the defense capability of our socialist homeland at such a level that potential aggressors will know well that any encroachment on the security of the land of the soviets and its allies, on the peaceful life of the Soviet people, will be met with a shattering retaliatory blow. Our glorious armed forces will continue to have at their disposal everything necessary for this.

At present extensive preparations are under way for the 27th CPSU Congress. It will discuss the new edition of the party's program and will define the prospects for the country's development in the next five-year plan and until the year 2000.

The times demand strenuous, creative work by all the party organizations from top to bottom. In all sectors, everywhere, communists must set the example of fulfillment of civic duty and conscientious work for the good of society, and must establish everywhere the Leninist work style. This relates primarily to the party cadres and the party and state leaders. The party will unswervingly pursue the course of intensifying exactingness and enhancing responsibility for assignments. Following the conclusion of the plenum, the Central Committee members, obkom first secretaries and all its participants will go to their posts to set about their business with new energy. There is no small amount to be done. Above all, we must successfully complete the work to

fulfill the current year's plans for socioeconomic development and thus ensure a confident start to the next five-year plan.

The severe winter has somewhat slowed down the implementation of the plan in a number of oblasts and sectors. That means that we must now rally together, harness reserves and exert all our strength in order to make up for what has not been done and reach the outlined targets by the end of the year.

Comrades, these days we are feeling even more sharply how powerful and monolithic the ranks of the communists are, how united our Soviet people are. At the recent elections the Soviet people again expressed unanimous support for the course of our party and state. This support inspires us and places commitments on us.

Today the Central Committee plenum assigned to me the difficult and great obligations of the position of CPSU Central Committee general secretary. I fully understand how great the trust shown in me is and how great is the responsibility connected with this. In the work ahead I am counting on the support and active help of Politburo members, candidate members, and Central Committee secretaries, and the party's Central Committee as a whole. Your multifaceted experience is the essence of our people's historical experience. I promise you, comrades, that I shall make every effort in order to faithfully serve our party, our people and the great Leninist cause (applause).

Allow me to express the conviction that, moving toward the 27th CPSU Congress, the party and people, united around the Central Committee, will do everything to make our Soviet homeland even more rich and powerful and to unleash more completely the creative forces of socialism (sustained applause).

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MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH GORBACHEV

PM12006 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85)  
p 12

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was born on 2 March 1931 in the village of Privolnoye, Krasnogvardeisky Rayon, Stavropol Kray, to a peasant family.

Soon after the Great Patriotic War, at age 15, he began to work as a machine-tractor station mechanic. He joined the CPSU in 1952. In 1955 he graduated from Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov (Law School) and in 1967 from the Stavropol Agricultural Institute, specializing in agroeconomic research.

M. S. Gorbachev has been engaged in Komsomol and party work since 1955. He worked in Stavropol Kray as first secretary of the Stavropol Komsomol City Committee, deputy head of the propaganda and agitation department, and then second and first secretary of the Komsomol Kraykom.

In March 1962, M. S. Gorbachev was nominated as party organizer at the Stavropol Territorial Production Kolkhoz-Sovkhoz Administration and in December of the same year approved as head of the CPSU Kraykom Department of Party Organs.

In September 1966 he was elected first secretary of the Stavropol city party committee. In August 1968 M. S. Gorbachev became second secretary, and in April 1970 was elected first secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Kraykom.

M. S. Gorbachev became a member of the CPSU Central Committee in 1971. He was a delegate to the 22nd, 24th, 25th and 26th party congresses. In 1978, he was elected CPSU Central Committee secretary and in 1979 a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. In October 1980 M. S. Gorbachev was promoted from candidate member to member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. He was a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the 8th-11th convocations, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union, and a deputy of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 10th-11th convocations.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is a prominent figure in the communist party and the Soviet state. In all posts entrusted to him by the party he works with the initiative, energy and selflessness typical of him; he gives all his

knowledge, wealth of experience, and organizing talent to the implementation of the party's policy; and he selflessly serves the great cause of Lenin and the interests of the working people.

For his services to the communist party and the Soviet state, M. S. Gorbachev has been awarded three Orders of Lenin, Orders of the October Revolution, the Labor Red Banner, the Badge of Honor and medals.

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ADDRESS OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM AND  
USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE

LD111132 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85)  
pp 13-15

[Text] Dear Comrades:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet state, and all Soviet people have suffered a grave loss. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, an outstanding party and state figure, patriot and internationalist, consistent fighter for the triumph of the ideals of communism and peace on earth, has passed away.

All of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's life was devoted to the cause of the Leninist party, to the interests of the Soviet people. Whatever post the party assigned to him, he invariably fought with characteristic selflessness for the implementation of the policy of the CPSU of which he was a member for more than 50 years.

K. U. Chernenko traveled the road from Komsomol leader and party organizer of a border post to general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. As he held the highest offices in the party and the state, his gift as organizer and leader of the Leninist type has fully revealed itself. The party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, headed by K. U. Chernenko, were carrying out large-scale and fruitful work to mobilize the working people for the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums.

A course of perfecting developed socialism, tackling major tasks of economic and social development, raising the living standards of the Soviet people, further encouraging the creative activity of the masses and improving ideological work was being consistently pursued. The party was constantly focusing its attention on strengthening discipline, law and order, on cadre policy, on invigorating the activity of the soviets, the Komsomol and people's control, on the school reform, and on enhancing the social role of literature and art. Active work is being done to prepare for the regular 27th CPSU Congress and to produce a new edition of the party program.

The efforts of the party in the international arena were concentrated on the further development of comprehensive cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries. Conversion to a new stage of socialist integration and strengthening the positions of the socialist community are associated with K. U. Chernenko's activities.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet state have firmly and consistently implemented the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, resolutely countering the aggressive plans and aspirations of the more reactionary forces of imperialism, and tirelessly struggling for an end to the arms race, imposed by imperialism, for the removal of the threat of nuclear war and ensuring dependable security for the peoples.

In this hour of grave loss the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers call upon the communists and the Soviet people to rally even closer around the Leninist Central Committee of the party and its Politburo. The working people of our country regard the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with full reason as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. All the deeds and plans of the party are directed at dedicated service to the basic interests of the Soviet people and the cause of communism.

The CPSU is equipped with the immortal revolutionary Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It is following unflinching the road charted by Lenin and will never deviate from it.

The party will continue to pursue its course towards all-round perfection of developed socialism. It regards a further rise in material and cultural standards of the people on the basis of the intensification of the economy and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in every possible way as the supreme goal of its activity. The principle of social justice, inherent in socialism, will be carried out persistently to an ever further extent in all spheres of our life. The line of strengthening discipline, order and organization, approved and backed by the country's working people, will be followed undeviatingly. The party will continue to consolidate further the alliance between the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia, and the fraternal friendship among the Soviet peoples, which constitute the basis of the vital activity of our society. It will develop socialist democracy. The party regarded and regards as the supreme spiritual values of the Soviet people Marxist-Leninist conviction, collectivism, patriotism and proletarian socialist internationalism.

The CPSU and the Soviet state have been doing and continue to do everything possible and necessary to strengthen the socialist community, to consolidate the positions of socialism in the world arena, to avert nuclear catastrophe and to ensure lasting peace. We want an end to the arms race and nonmilitarization of space and are working perseveringly to achieve that goal. Our ultimate objective is the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere in the world, the complete removal of the threat of nuclear war. The Soviet Union has invariably advocated constructive dialogue and practical measures to lessen international tension and to establish an atmosphere of trust, cooperation and mutual understanding among all the peoples and states.

The Soviet Union threatens no one and does not seek military superiority. But nor will it allow any other country or coalition of states to gain such superiority. That is why we shall continue to enhance tirelessly our vigilance and to strengthen the defense capability of our socialist motherland.

Our sympathies and our support are with the peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. In the struggle for peace and social progress, the CPSU invariably adheres to the consistent course towards uniting in every possible way the forces of the international communist and workers' movement.

The party's objectives are clear and noble. They enabled the CPSU to earn the infinite confidence of the working people. The strength of the party is in its unity with the people. The strength of the people is in their unity with the party, in its guidance.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, who devoted his entire life to serving loyally the party and the Soviet people, will remain forever in the memory of the communists, all the Soviet people. He will live on in our memory as a fiery propagandist of Marxist-Leninist ideas, as a responsive and demanding leader, as a person who was keen and sensitive to the needs and concerns of the working people.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers firmly believe that the communists and all Soviet people, displaying a high sense of conscientiousness and organization, will work with even greater enthusiasm and dedication, strengthen the economic and defense potential of our homeland and carry on with honor the banner of the Great October Revolution.

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SPEECH BY M. S. GORBACHEV AT THE 13 MARCH 1985 FUNERAL

LD131047 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85)  
pp 16-17

[Text] Dear Comrades:

We are bidding our last farewell to Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

At this mournful hour, Soviet people are paying a tribute of profound respect to a true son of our party and people, a steadfast fighter for noble communist ideals, a prominent party and state figure.

Since his early years, Konstantin Ustinovich fully devoted himself to the service of the party's cause, to the interests of the people. Whatever specific party and state work he was doing--at a frontier post, in Siberia or the Volga region, in Moldavia or in Moscow--everywhere Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko worked with complete dedication, was a passionate propagandist of Marxism-Leninism, encouraged and rallied people together, skillfully directed their efforts to big and useful deeds. He was always distinguished by ideological conviction, creative enthusiasm, practicality, party principle-mindedness and a considerate and attentive attitude to people.

The vast political experience of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko was most fully revealed at the posts of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Under his leadership, the Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo adopted and translated into life important decisions on cardinal problems of the country's economic and sociopolitical development and of the communist education of the masses.

Konstantin Ustinovich did much to implement the Leninist course of our party--a course towards strengthening the might of our motherland and preserving and strengthening peace on earth.

Today, the communist party, its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo firmly declare to the Soviet people their unshakeable determination to serve faithfully the great cause of socialism and communism, the cause of peace, social progress and happiness of the working people.

With Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's active participation, the party line was collectively shaped and carried out to intensify production in all ways, further to raise the living standards and spiritual culture of the people, perfect the political system of society and deepen socialist democracy.

We will continue to work purposefully for realizing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November 1982 and subsequent Central Committee plenums on speeding up the country's socioeconomic development and strengthening its economic and defensive might. Satisfying the growing requirements of Soviet people and improving the conditions of their work and life have always been and remain the major concern of the party and the state.

The development of the initiative and creative endeavor of the masses, strict observance of law and order, consolidation of labor, state and party discipline will continue to remain in the center of attention.

We will support, encourage and elevate in all ways those who by deeds and practical results, rather than words, show their honest and conscientious attitude towards civic duty.

We shall fight any manifestations of showiness and idle talk, swagger and irresponsibility and everything that contradicts the socialist norms of life. The Central Committee will continue tirelessly to strengthen the party's cohesion and its bonds with the masses and to perfect the style of party, state and social activities.

Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko's name is associated with the implementation of the foreign policy of the Soviet state, the major peaceful initiatives aimed at terminating the arms race and removing the threat of a world thermonuclear catastrophe. Our party and state will continue stepping up efforts in this direction, doing everything to preserve peace. We proceed from the conviction that the right to live in conditions of peace and freedom is the prime human right.

We reaffirm once again our readiness to maintain good-neighborly relations with all countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence, on the basis of equality and mutually advantageous cooperation. The Soviet Union has never threatened anyone. But no one will ever be able to dictate his will to us.

Socialism, as Lenin taught, will prove its advantages, but it will prove them not by force of arms but by force of example in all fields of society's life--economic, political and moral-legal.

The growing might and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community reliably serves the cause of peace and social progress. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are doing everything necessary for their fraternal alliance to become still stronger and their political and economic cooperation to develop and deepen. Loyal to the principles of socialist internationalism, our party will continue to do everything for broader interaction among the fraternal countries and the enhancement of their positions in international affairs.

We are convinced that the objectives set by the party, which is marching towards its 27th Congress, will be achieved. The proof of this is the selfless work of the Soviet people, the indestructible unity of the party and the people.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government permit me to express gratitude to the fraternal parties, the working people of the countries of the socialist communist, the governments and the peoples of other countries, to all who have honored the cherished memory of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

In this hour of parting with Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko I want to express sincere and deep condolences to his family and relatives.

Bowing our heads before you, our dear comrade and associate, we promise unswervingly to follow the course of our Leninist party. To serve its cause is to serve the cause of the people. We will discharge this duty of ours to the end.

Farewell, dear Konstantin Ustinovich!

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## TOPICAL PROBLEMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY

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pp 18-29

[Article by V. Vinokurov, doctor of physical-mathematical sciences and K. Zuyev, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The productive forces of our society have entered an exceptionally important stage of their development which is connected with an increasingly wide and organic application of the latest achievements of scientific-technical progress. As is pointed out in party documents, the qualitative transformation of productive forces and the perfecting of production relations determine the essence and main content of our entire activity at its contemporary stage. In its newness, scale and complexity this is a titanic task in the full sense of the word. And it must be carried out with revolutionary scope, demanding maximum effort of everyone, self-discipline and a profound understanding of the fact that there is no other way to advance.

One of the main directions of scientific-technical progress and possibly its most concentrated manifestation today is computerization, that is, the full application of various computers in production operations, means of transportation and communications, and spheres of administration, science, education and everyday services and a rapid development of robot technology. The quantity and quality of electronic computers manufactured in the country and the degree of maximal application of electronics in most widely different branches are becoming one of the main criteria of the country's economic and military potential. It is therefore natural that the task of rapid development and wide introduction of electronic computer technology was set by the 26th Party Congress. This task has been concretized by the general state program of building up and developing the production and effective utilization of computer equipment and automated systems for the period to 2,000 which was considered and basically approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo at the beginning of this year. The program envisages an accelerated output of computer technology equipment and an improvement in quality, as well as the introduction of new electronic computers for scientific research and for solving the applied tasks in the machine building, metallurgical and energy industries, in prospecting for minerals and in several other branches for the purpose of intensifying the national economy in every possible way.

The growth in manufacture and application of electronic computers is extraordinarily dynamic. In little more than 20 years, this branch has traversed the road from its birth to becoming one of the leading branches. However, whereas toward the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s--when electronic computer technology only just began to gather pace--quite a great deal was written about "thinking machines," automated plants, and the like, interest in this topic has declined somewhat today, when such machines and plants have become reality. At the same time, the scale of technological and social consequences and future prospects of the development of electronic computer equipment and the rapid pace of its realization demand, in our opinion, an operational and, at the same time, most serious analysis of these consequences and prospects. One of the main directions of the task of combining achievements of scientific-technical revolution with the economic organization of socialism, set by the party, fully extends to computerization. However, today it must be noted that in the development and application of computer technology there is still a considerable amount of spontaneity and departmental separation and that not all questions are solved comprehensively, something which essentially reduces the real returns from this important sector of scientific-technical progress.

An objective trend of intensification of state control over the development and application of computer technology is becoming increasingly obvious. What this requires is that the planning of this process be perfected, that its immediate and more distant consequences be taken into account, that problems arising in this connection be solved operationally and effectively and that inevitable difficulties be overcome.

The necessity of building new, more perfected types of electronic computers and of employing in particular nontraditional principles of interconnection between the main functional sectors or, according to accepted terminology in electronic technology, of employing nonstandard electronic computer architecture, is quite understandable. What is especially important here is purpose-program planning on the basis of integrated elaboration of all component parts of electronic computers as well as all component parts of computer software [matematicheskoye obespecheniye]. The final effect will be a maximum only under the condition that there are no weak links in the entire chain from development to manufacture and, beyond that, to the exploitation of new types of electronic computers.

Today this condition is far from being always fulfilled. This is demonstrated in particular by the fact that at times various models of electronic computers in a single series turn out to be virtually identical, even though it was planned that each new model should demonstrate appreciable progress, and that for exactly this reason much time and effort should be expended on the development of each model. Thus, three electronic computer models in the same series, accepted by the countries of the socialist community as the basic computer series, that is, the YeS-1045, YeS-1055 and YeS-1060 computers, have turned out to have similar computer possibilities. And yet they had been planned as computers of different classes. Would it not have been more sensible to put emphasis on the development of a single, more highly perfected model than to build three successive models that, in their basic parameters, are not very different from one another? At the same time, is it rational to

concentrate efforts only on development of the YeS series and, at the same time, renounce development of larger electronic computers of other series. Here it is appropriate to recall first and foremost, for instance, the well-known GESM series which was the result of the creative efforts of Soviet specialists and which, in its time, represented a successful realization of a whole series of progressive and, at the same time, priority designer solutions.

The quality and reliability of computer equipment is also at the center of its developers' attention. But sometimes the products of enterprises of one and the same ministry turn out to be very heterogeneous in this respect.

The quality of computer equipment is connected with the presence of an enormous number of elements and their combinations in the electronic computer. A flaw in any one of them can put out of commission the entire expensive structure. And in this connection the search for the defective element or contact is incomparably more labor-intensive and longer than in some other technical mechanism which perhaps is also not very simple but in which all elements are more or less visible (say, in an automobile engine). If a computer turns out to have a whole series of defects than seeking and eliminating them is often altogether inexpedient economically. Today when the automation and robotization of production operations in our country represents a most important economic task, errors in the quality of electronic equipment are absolutely impermissible.

As is known, semiconductor technology represents the material basis of contemporary electronics. The manufacture of large-scale integration circuits represents a most important achievement of this technology in recent years. The parameters of large-scale integration circuits without exaggeration surpass the most powerful imagination and evoke astonishment at the potential of contemporary technology: a thin wafer of semiconductor crystal [plastinka poluprovodnikovogo kristalla] is equivalent to tens and even hundreds of thousands of elements and is capable of performing all the basic functions of first-generation electronic computers that were in fact very cumbersome. Today, there is no other branch in which demand for precision and cleanness in production operations is as high as in this branch and in which the proportions of the finished manufactured products are measured in micrometers. Here the technology has literally entered the micro-world sphere, and specialized literature is constantly publishing reports on the development of new, increasingly fine and, at the same time, reliable and inexpensive methods of manufacturing various electronic components.

Therefore, simultaneously with the constant appearance on the world market of expensive and super-modern equipment and components, there is also a tendency to reduce the value of products that have already been mastered. To achieve, in the shortest possible time, indexes in this branch which are not below world level--this is the task that demands a solution without delay. It is also necessary to bear in mind the possibility for the development, in the foreseeable future, of essentially new directions in the technology of production of the element basis [elementnaya baza] of electronic computers. This involves, for instance, the development of optical integrated microcircuits which may lead to the appearance of a new generation of high-

speed "optical electronic computers." Their error immunity [pomekhoustoychivost] (and consequently, their performance ability) may be considerably higher than that of contemporary electronic computers. There is also a possible path of development of electronic computers which is linked with the utilization of achievements in biology. Already now, laboratories in the world are experimenting with protein molecules that are capable of performing the functions of twin memory cells, the basic "bricks" in computer construction. Of course, it is still early to speak about real prospects of this direction in electronic computer designing, but if this leads to practical results, then it will be yet more proof of the fruitfulness of research work carried out at the juncture of various fields of knowledge.

The rapid growth of the number of electronic computers in use has given rise to the need for a system of "electronic service," that is, service providing for installation, adjustment and repair of computers. The assembly of a large electronic computer is usually preceded by special engineering preparation of the appropriate space (tension stabilization, ventilation, special floors and so forth). Both the installation and adjustment of computers are often performed with handicraft or semi-handicraft methods, demanding great expenditure of labor and time. This is primarily connected with the fact that electronic computers themselves are insufficiently adjusted when they are released under plant conditions, and consequently a considerable amount of work must be performed by service organizations or by users themselves whose level of technical equipment for the purpose is relatively low.

It is possible that this system is more suitable for the plant concerned, but if we "weigh" the overall expenses accompanying the entry of a new electronic computer into "working life," these expenses turn out to be excessively high. As regards servicing and repair of large electronic computers of the YeS series, the specialized service organization, that is, the all-union association of the Main Electronic Computer Complex Administration [SoyuzEVMKOMFLEKS], still does not cover all installed computers and, in addition to this, the level of service provided by this organization does not meet contemporary demands.

Today every large electronic computer should have a staff of highly skilled specialists directly engaged in servicing it. A somewhat unnatural situation has developed as a result of the rapid growth in the number of computer centers: On the one hand, the newly organized computer centers are experiencing an extreme shortage of specialists with proper qualifications (something that results in a sharp decline in the equipment's effective use) and, on the other hand, available specialists are often not fully engaged for a considerable part of their working time because, if equipment functions normally, they only have to carry out preventive inspection and adjustment.

Computers that require no specialists for their installation and exploitation are now widely used. What is characteristic in this connection is the avalanche-like growth in manufacture of so-called personal electronic computers that are designed for single individual users who do not necessarily have to possess any specialized knowledge of programming and electronics. The entire extensive hardware and programming work on these computers is performed in manufacturing plants and, in this connection, even training for working

with such an electronic computer using highly developed software is incorporated in the electronic computer itself. At the same time, personal electronic computers are--by their computing potential--machines of considerably high capacity and in their basic parameters are comparable to the single series electronic computers. The simplicity and convenience of their exploitation, as well as their relatively low costs, have resulted in the mass exploitation of personal electronic computers in economically developed countries (thus, approximately 4.6 million personal electronic computers were produced in the United States in 1983, even though mass production was only started in 1976).

There is no doubt that a wide utilization of electronic computers represents a powerful factor in labor intensification in virtually all spheres of human activity. However, a simplified solution of this problem through the formation of computer centers with staffs leads to consequences that are contrary to the set goal, that is, the number of service personnel grows considerably without resulting in any essential increase in labor productivity. An optimal combination of high-capacity computer centers with a widespread use of personal electronic computers represents a practical alternative to an unrestrained growth of centers whose effectiveness is low but which absorb a large part of the country's labor resources.

It is in this sense that a technological policy must be worked out which would adequately meet the objective needs of scientific-technical progress. Only in this way is it possible essentially to increase the work effectiveness of the army of highly qualified specialists in the field of computer technology, to make the use of cadres in this sphere more efficient and to reduce the shortage of cadres.

It should also be noted that today enterprises manufacturing computer equipment frequently have no real interest in sharply improving its quality. Paradoxical as it may be, it is a fact that, by producing equipment of insufficiently high quality (under conditions of general shortage of this equipment and especially under conditions of acute shortage of spare parts), the enterprises make the equipment user dependent on them. By delivering spare parts in short supply and by performing repair and adjustment work under conditions dictated by themselves, these enterprises in fact obtain additional profits without any difficulties, profits which they would not make if the quality of their products was always sufficiently high. This is a characteristic example of how a departmental interest not only comes into contradiction with the all-national interests but also becomes a brake on the progress of its own sphere. Is it not absurd that, instead of achieving real improvement in its own economic indexes, an enterprise gains from the poor quality of its own products at the expense of users who lack any effective levers to exert their influence on suppliers?

It is this same aspiration to make users of electronic computers dependent on them that obviously also explains the reluctance of the enterprises involved to provide computer centers and service organizations with sufficient quantities of modern diagnostic and repair instruments without which repairs of equipment are frequently delayed to the extreme and become more complicated or altogether impossible.

Thus, there is a whole complex of causes behind the fact that installation, adjustment, exploitation and repairs of computer equipment often turn into a difficult problem. And users are compelled to solve it in a basically handicraft manner that involves inefficient expenditure of time and resources. This is especially painful for recently organized computer centers that lack sufficiently qualified cadres, have insufficient experience in mutual relations with their suppliers and service organizations and the like. In our opinion, everything in this connection must be set up in such a way that the acquisition of an electronic computer will not lead to trouble, running around and handicraft solutions to concrete problems. It must instead automatically include the installation of the electronic computer and its delivery "into one's hands" and with the complete responsibility of the supplier, that is, analogously to the practice that is increasingly widely followed in deliveries of other national economic projects. In appraising the comprehensiveness and speed of servicing of electronic computer equipment at this stage it is necessary to be oriented to the level guaranteed in this connection by foreign firms, and it is necessary to plan to surpass that ideal in the long term. This demand extends beyond the limits of technical progress alone. And the striving to obtain imported equipment now is explained in many respects precisely by advantages in servicing. It is obvious that the formation of an effective unified electronics service system requires a modern material basis, efficient use of cadres and elaboration of such economic indexes of systems operations as would directly depend on the amount of worktime lost in computer centers as a result of the necessary electronic service. This question has been raised by the central press on more than one occasion.

The standardization of electronic computer hardware [apparatnye sredstva] and software is the key problem in development of computer technology. The standardization of computer hardware will make it possible, first and foremost, to achieve maximum compatibility of various types of electronic computers and of peripheral systems as well as to achieve the possibility for their "link-up" and, consequently, their most effective utilization. At present, enterprises of different ministries produce electronic computers of several series, such as the YeS, SM and Elektronika series. We note that they cannot by far always be linked up and that, in addition, users often lack precise information regarding their mutual compatibility as well as their compatibility with machines and systems of other series. Even within the framework of the same series there are systems that cannot be linked up. All this results in practice in considerable additional difficulties and expenditures and reduces the utilization effectiveness of available equipment. Furthermore, the standardization of computer hardware is an indispensable condition for setting up branch and regional electronic computer networks and even more for setting up in the long term a unified all-state system of computer centers.

It is far from being realized always and everywhere what enormous labor is expended in the putting together of complicated programs. For instance, in buying a complicated machine tool with a digital program control instrument, a foreign trade organization considers it natural to pay a solid amount of money for it, let us say, 100,000 rubles. But at the same time, it is far less inclined to pay such a sum for a program provided, for instance, by a magnetic

tape recording although the real value of the program may be no less, and is often even more, than the corresponding equipment to which it is added and which cannot function without it. It is necessary to overcome some traditional notions according to which primary significance is attached, first and foremost, to material components of production operations, and realize that information provided in the form of program lines on paper or a display screen represents an inseparable component part of the technological process. The very fact that the product of a programmer's intellectual labor is transformed into a direct element of technology can be properly perceived as one of the concrete realizations of Marx's vision of the transformation of science into a direct productive force.

Let us recall that the first electronic computers were cumbersome and expensive systems and at the same time the programs controlling their operations were relatively simple and, to a certain extent, unique and that at that time there was no mass production of algorithms and programs. However, as computer technology developed further and as the sphere of its use expanded beyond all limits, two fundamental laws became apparent: a constant lowering of costs of computer hardware as its manufacture was perfected and as the scale of manufacture expanded, on the one hand; and the rising costs of computer software because the traditional tasks rapidly became more complicated and because of the appearance of special comprehensive programs for solving a large number of new types of tasks, on the other. At present, overall costs of program resources elaborated and utilized in the world is calculated in many tens of billions of dollars.

A graphic notion of the volume of labor that is put into the preparation of complicated programs is provided, for instance, by programs to process information obtained on the basis of satellite communications. Collectives of skilled specialists work for months and even years to compose such programs. It is important to note that, unlike technical resources that are written off after they have served their time, worked-out programs and algorithms can be accumulated and incorporated in increasingly complicated program complexes. But to make it possible to effectively utilize these accumulated results of intellectual labor in new electronic computers, it is necessary to ensure that the new computer software system will allow the utilization of the preceding generation's programs and language.

Standardization of computer software has therefore become a serious problem wherever computer technology is used. Standardization of programming languages, the number of which grows by a few dozen every year, is one of the important aspects of this problem. But the invention of new, more convenient, and more efficient languages does not imply that it is always economically expedient to immediately start using them because, as has already been said, a considerable amount of labor and resources has been often invested in the preparation of the existing programs now in effect.

The insufficient realization of the material value of complicated programs is further aggravated by the fact that protection of authors' rights has not yet extended to programming. There are no (not only in our country but also abroad) generally recognized standards and juridical norms that would guarantee the protection of authors' rights in this field. Therefore,

unnecessary duplication or repeated elaborations of analogous programs as well as uncontrolled borrowing and utilization of these programs are quite a frequent occurrence. It is obviously necessary to take appropriate measures to ensure the most efficient utilization of everything that has already been achieved and the further development of everything progressive in this important sphere of activity.

It is impossible not to also call attention to the need for a fundamental modernization of the communications system because available communications channels make it virtually impossible to link electronic computers that are separated from one another by a distance of a few kilometers. At the same time, foreign experience shows that it is possible to effectively link electronic computers located at distances of hundreds and even thousands of kilometers from one another. The restructuring of the communications infrastructure, a significant increase of its capacity and improvement of its resistance to interference are also important from the viewpoint of setting up in the near future an information system based on cable television transmission. All in all, in our opinion the importance of the communications system in the life of contemporary society will constantly grow and therefore no less attention should be devoted to it than, for instance, that devoted to perfecting and increasing the effectiveness of operations of basic transportation means.

The questions of standardization of computer programming and hardware turn our attention once again to problems of manufacture, installation and servicing of computer equipment. On the one hand, because different ministries manufacture different series of electronic computers, it is possible to form within every individual ministry specialized associations that have at their disposal the necessary technical and cadre resources to carry out the entire complex task of installation, adjustment and servicing of electronic computers of the appropriate series. However, this method would be effective only if a developed system of standards existed which would eliminate the problem of link-up. On the other hand, in our opinion, a powerful impulse to the further progress of computer technology and of the numerous ways of its application would be provided by formation of a unified all-state system that would be able to take over solutions for the entire range of questions ranging from standardization to manufacture and servicing of computer equipment. It is by this method that it would be possible to utilize the essential advantages of the planned socialist economy to the maximum extent.

The training of cadres in work with computer equipment is one of the topical questions. The number of persons engaged in the utilization and servicing of computer equipment is currently growing at a rapid pace in all countries that are intensively introducing electronic computers. A new mass profession--programming--has appeared. However, the complexity and quantity of specialized tasks are increasing so rapidly that, assuming that the present labor productivity of programmers is maintained, no quantitative growth can ensure efficient full-capacity operation of electronic computers in the immediate future. Therefore, efforts to automate programming and the elaboration of special methods of accelerated specification of programs merit most serious attention and support. Great long-term prospects are offered by the method connected with "training" the computer to receive information

directly from the human voice, something that should result in future in a radical simplification of "communication" between man and electronic computer. It is also necessary to increasingly actively take into account and utilize the rapidly growing domestic and foreign experience.

As we have already noted, the low level of work organization in installation and exploitation of electronic computers, as well as a number of other objective and subjective factors have led to a shortage of highly skilled specialists in system programming and computer electronics. Economic losses suffered by many computer centers as a result of this are comparable to the cost of electronic computers. The "system" specialist who knows well the structure of information flows and data processing algorithms in the system as a whole and who "gives life" to the machine must be the central acting person in any adjustment or readjustment of the electronic computer. But the real "physical" functioning of the electronic computer as a complicated electronic mechanism depends to an essential degree on the skills of the electronic engineer. Specialists of this kind are especially rare and more often than not they are self-taught individuals who had mathematical and technical education in the past. This state of affairs cannot be considered normal; what is needed in this field is a solid higher education institute training. Several technical higher education institutes that train precisely these specialists have formed faculties of applied mathematics and determined appropriate specialized subjects for them. However, regardless of the fact that programs that correspond to contemporary demands have been worked out and adopted, the restructuring of the training process in these specialized professions is not being carried sufficiently effectively (because of the shortage of highly qualified pedagogical cadres and, in addition to that, because the importance and topicality of this problem have not been sufficiently recognized). It is also necessary to note the acute problem of strengthening the material-technical basis of many higher education institutes with regard to computer equipment. At present, only 15 percent of the average annual need of a higher school for specialized laboratory equipment, electronic computers and peripheral systems is met, a fact that represents a serious brake on the improvement of the quality of lecturing on and study of a number of long-term scientific-technical disciplines.

The training of highly qualified specialists in this field is made essentially more difficult by the extremely limited number of available candidates and doctors of sciences for the problem of programming and computer electronics. The elaboration of new types of operational systems, of packages of applied programs and other elements of electronic computer software represent creative work that fully deserves the granting of scientific titles. However, the All-union Certification Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers does not pay due attention to this question. In our opinion, the situation should be considered as paradoxical when the author of mathematical research carried out and not introduced into practice "legitimately" receives a scientific title, whereas no scientific title is supposed to be granted for the elaboration of a correspondingly complicated software program (the cost of which is rapidly rising on the world market).

It is also important to pay attention to training leaders at various levels in electronic computer operations. What is primarily involved in this connection

is the ability to effectively utilize the terminals for work with large information flows. It is hardly possible to count on any decisive perfection of the sphere of management without this. In the not too distant future, the ability to work with electronic computers will undoubtedly become an indispensable element in training every medium- or higher-level leader, and therefore it is necessary already today to develop and introduce appropriate courses both in higher schools and in institutes for the higher qualification of leading workers in ministries and departments.

Raising the level of competence of leading workers in the sphere of utilization of computer equipment will also make it possible to overcome the "computer fetishism" which is still encountered now and then, which has been justly criticized by this journal, and which is most often connected with a lack of knowledge about the real potential of computer technology and of the principles of its utilization (see KOMMUNIST, 1982, No 12, pp 20-21). Computer technology is not only expected to increase the efficiency of the higher and medium levels of management but also to significantly raise the level of the still low labor productivity in the sphere of clerical work. Efficient processing of documentation and, first and foremost, the determination of unified document examples containing no unclear notions or superfluous information are indispensable to ensure that electronic computers will in fact be introduced on a large scale in such fields as savings banks and state insurance systems, accounting work, ticket sales in various transportation branches, registration and distribution of housing and the like. The solution of this task is an important prerequisite for preventing a swelling of the administrative apparatus and for greater efficiency of administrative work.

Today skills in the practical utilization of electronic computer systems are becoming more and more indispensable for a wide range of professions. In a number of economically developed countries, appropriate courses have already been included or are being included in secondary school study programs. Even school children of junior grades are getting used to "communicating" with electronic computers. Any lagging in this sphere is impermissible because "computer literacy" will obviously become an important component part of the general education of man in the not too distant future. Therefore, inclusion of the proposition on the necessity of "equipping students with knowledge and skills in the utilization of contemporary computer equipment, on ensuring wide use of computers in the learning process and setting up special school and inter-school sections for this purpose" in the program document for general education and vocational school reform represents an especially timely action. However, practical experience has shown that the study of programming and of algorithm languages can be effective only in conjunction with direct utilization of electronic computers within the framework of the training process and that, if direct utilization of computers is lacking, the result is often a steady psychological aversion instead of skills in working and a desire to work with computers. Thus, despite the urgency of "universal computer education," this education must be provided first and foremost with a serious material basis in the form of appropriate hardware and programming means. Without this, considerable efforts may be wasted in vain and moral harm will be caused to a task of major importance for the state.

Serious improvement is needed in the operation of automated control systems built on the basis of computer technology. Automated control systems (there are now a few thousand of them in the country) often further complicate the control structure because new subdivisions appear which in fact duplicate the functions of already existing control systems, and it is very difficult to objectively evaluate the economic effect of their introduction. Information flows are often run as though for their own sake and are not aimed at achieving any real improvement in the effectiveness of control, that is, automated control systems turn into systems of information collection and processing and are used to solve routine-like tasks which do not correspond to their purpose or to their constantly growing material basis and the expenditure for them. However, if the already accumulated experience (including negative experience) is duly taken into account, automated control systems can become and are becoming an important instrument in improving the functioning of the economic mechanism. We cite only one example. The introduction of automated control systems in agricultural production operations in Georgia, Estonia, Latvia and other union republics is not only making a weighty contribution to fulfillment of the Food Program but is also making it possible to employ the labor force much more efficiently, to manage in many cases without the help or patronage of city people and to strengthen the confidence of rural working people in the optimal effect of management decisions.

In our opinion, special attention should be devoted to the automated control systems of technological processes because these systems produce a great economic effect in this connection and raise general production standards to a higher level; the introduction of these systems in technological processes should be further promoted. By using these systems it is possible to achieve the optimal effect of technological processes in the consumption of raw materials and energy and in parameters of finished products, ensure timely deliveries of necessary parts to assembly points of complex manufactured products, and so forth.

An extraordinarily high demand for product quality and precision of technological operations is the characteristic feature of the most modern industrial branches such as the aerospace and electronic industries. It is only possible to meet this demand by using electronic computer equipment in these branches on a large scale. The quality of the most technically complicated manufactured products, including products that are of the greatest importance in ensuring the country's defense capability, is directly determined by the degree of computerization of technology. Thus, the country's scientific-technical progress and its economic and defense potential directly depend on the quality of electronic computer technology.

Today electronic computers "are penetrating" systems of the most widely varied types and are essentially improving their work or making it possible to form an essentially new structure. The combination of machine tools, machines and instruments with electronic computers represents one of the main directions of technical development as well as one of the main directions of scientific experiments, first and foremost as a result of the microminiaturization that is characteristic of contemporary electronics. Manufacture of inexpensive microprocessors makes it possible to provide the most widely varied systems,

including relatively small ones, with "electronic brains." This signifies a new stage of production automation. The mass intrusion of robots, flexible production systems and automated plants in industry is based precisely on microprocessors.

The evolution of industrial robots has proceeded in two main directions: first, robots replace man wherever production conditions are harmful or less accessible to man, as well as wherever great physical efforts are required; and second, in branches that demand high-precision and high-quality work. Including second- and third-generation robots in the structure of flexible production operations (the term "flexible automated production operations" is used in this connection) is one of the most promising directions in the utilization of these robots. In this connection robots are used in combination with machine tools connected with the digital program control [chislovoye programmnoye upravleniye] or the processing centers. The use of robots in flexible production systems shows that today the possibilities for automation are far wider than was assumed in the 1950s and 1960s. Then, automation was considered possible only under conditions of large-scale serial production operations. Flexible production systems extend the sphere of automated operations to the sphere of small-scale serial production operations and make it possible to simultaneously produce models that may be of the same type but differ from each other, or to virtually instantly switch over to manufacture of a new lot of manufactured goods.

As was noted at the 36th session of the CEMA Council, 200,000 industrial robots will be in operation in CEMA member countries by 1990. This will become possible as a result of specialization and cooperation in the manufacture of robot equipment. By 1990, basic robot types will be equipped with microprocessor systems that will make it possible to analyze the situation and take the necessary decisions to ensure the performance of production functions. The development of robot technology and the normation of flexible production systems will play a decisive role in eliminating manual non-mechanized labor and in considerably improving general production standards. And we want to note once again that fulfillment of this most important economic and social task will depend in many respects on the quality and reliability of electronic equipment.

Automatic planning and design systems represent one of the important and rapidly developing spheres of introduction of electronic computers. They mark the beginning of automation of engineering and planning and design activities that were only recently considered purely creative. These are the man and machine systems (this term is now used widely) in which man assumes the function of determining the purpose, selecting optimal criteria, selecting final possible design variations, and the like, and the computer works out the range of models with the prescribed parameters on the basis of standard programs. This means that the designer, using the automated planning and design system, transfers the routine noncreative aspects of designing activity to the electronic computer, and thereby the proportional share of creative elements in the work of the planning and design engineer is increased. Design calculations, descriptions of standard details, execution of drawings, and design documentation are precisely the wearisome, minimally interesting, and mainly time-consuming aspects of the planner's and designer's work which are

handed over to the computer. Thus, automation of inventive and design activities does not mean that man is being squeezed out of them but instead marks the more complete fulfillment of the man's creative potential.

The acute necessity of automated planning and design systems is explained by the growing complication and dynamic nature of contemporary production operations. The technical level of a number of leading industrial branches requires essentially new planning and design methods. The time schedules for developing and introducing new elements in production have been shortened to such an extent and the list and complicated nature of manufactured goods produced have increased to such an extent that the flow of planning and design and technical information can only be controlled by means of electronic computers. Automated planning and design systems are now actively used in the electrical engineering, machine tool building, electronic and instrument making industries.

Computerization is also beginning to penetrate the strictly scientific-theoretical activity that has always been considered a citadel of creativity. Thanks to the creation of analysis programming systems that make it possible to work directly with mathematical formulas, the use of electronic computers has proven to be fruitful in making complicated calculations in celestial mechanics, theoretical physics, and a number of divisions of mathematics. Today even purely theoretical works often include an indication of the program by means of which the pertinent calculations were carried out. This fact confirms once again that a large amount of preliminary, essentially mechanical work, from which scientists can be released, is always required even in the process of formation of the most highly abstract scientific theories, in addition to the elaboration of the "nucleus" idea of the theory involved. Computer (mechanical) experimenting that makes it possible not only to efficiently solve many applied tasks but also to make fundamental discoveries (see A. Smarskiy, Contemporary Applied Mathematics and Computer Experiment, KOMMUNIST, 1983, No 18) represents an important direction in the utilization of electronic computers.

Using all accumulated empirical data, computers also make it possible to obtain valuable new information in the social sciences. This applies to sociology, linguistics, archeology and history.

Data processing computer systems must become one of the important means of fulfilling the tasks of the general annual preventive medical survey of population with which our public health services have been charged. Utilization of electronic computers is obviously also very promising in such a refined sphere as that of medical diagnosis.

Summing up what has been said, we emphasize once again that the development of computerization in our country will depend on the extent to which the principle of comprehensiveness of utilization of electronic computers is implemented in the national economy and on the extent to which it is understood that, opening up possibilities for fundamental and qualitative improvements in production, management and scientific activities, computer technology does not create these possibilities on its own and automatically but that an integral program of measures must be implemented for this purpose.

The sphere of manufacture, servicing and application of electronic computers which exists in our country has formed spontaneously and is now in urgent need of a unified organization and planning system and of a truly systematic approach to solving the problems that are arising. Preserving the discrepancy between the achieved technological level and the level of management is absolutely intolerable in this connection. Therefore the need is now ripe for a much better coordination of efforts between the ministries and departments that manufacture and use computer technology and train the cadres. The organizational forms of this coordination may be diverse and the possibility is also not excluded of setting up a supra-departmental organ that would be responsible both for the comprehensive development of this important branch and for solving the tasks facing it within the framework of the present national economic structures.

The USSR Academy of Sciences devotes great attention to development of electronic computer technology in our country. A department of data processing, computer technology and automation has been formed and this will be conducive to increasing the effectiveness of research and study in this sphere.

The progress of contemporary electronic, computer and robot technology is not only a most important component part of the scientific-technical revolution but also a sphere of an essential competition between the two socioeconomic systems. In a number of its objective tendencies socialist society shows a constant orientation toward a most rapid practical application of the most contemporary scientific and technical achievements. The enormous possibilities opened up by electronic computer technology must be utilized to the full extent.

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## THE POTENTIAL OF THE EXPERIMENT

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[Article by A. Prigozhin, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The wide scale of economic experimentation in the country is of exceptionally great importance, signifying a turn of managerial thinking toward scientific experience. A long essential intermediate, connecting link is forming between the theory and practice of management and becoming stronger.

Of course, the methods of experimentation must still be properly developed. The large-scale experiment which has been conducted since the beginning of 1984 in a number of industrial ministries is regarded as the most promising in this sense. As many principled lessons as possible must be drawn from it both from the point of view of developing the national economic mechanism and in order to skillfully organize the matter of experimentation in management.

At the end of last year the CPSU Central Committee Politburo discussed the preliminary results of the economic experiment and noted on the whole a positive effect on the results of economic activity. The Politburo agreed with proposals to spread the new conditions of economic operations to enterprises in a number of branches. At the same time, the necessity was pointed out of improving some of the conditions of the experiment.

The March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized the necessity to further persistently perfect the economic mechanism and the entire system of management. While following this course and selecting the optimum solutions, it is important to creatively apply the fundamental principles of socialist economic operations. This means steadily implementing the planned development of the economy, strengthening socialist ownership, broadening the rights and increasing the independence and responsibility of enterprises, and increasing their interest in the final results of their work. It also means ultimately subordinating all economic development to the interests of the Soviet people.

There is, in our opinion, every ground for looking more closely at the problems arising in the course of the experiment by taking the example of the Ministry of Light Industry of the Belorussian SSR, which was among the

pioneers in testing new methods of appraising and stimulating the work of the labor collectives.

### The Effort of Search

The essence of the experiment is well-known: to move into the foreground evaluation of the collectives' work according to their fulfillment of contracts with consumers, to reduce the number of directive indexes and to develop the normative method in economic management.

It must be said now: the Belorussian Ministry of Light Industry began the experiment highly prepared. Basically, many of the useful processes developing in it now began long ago.

This branch in the republic has grown fairly rapidly in the postwar years. A total of 17 subbranches have formed within it (linen, wool, silk, china, footwear, sewn goods and so forth). They comprise 66 production associations, combines and individual enterprises, at which 155,000 people work. Half of the products are sent out of the republic. Because the majority of production units have recently been rebuilt, their technical level is relatively higher than throughout the union on average. And the coefficient of capacity utilization is among the highest in the country. The educational level of the workers is also impressive: 8,000 people have higher education diplomas. Considerable changes have also taken place in the quality of products: Every second product subject to certification is now marked with a five-corner star which is binding in many respects. In a word, it is a well-equipped, developed branch. But the experiment has required it to go further and raise all work to a qualitatively new level.

The Ministry of Light Industry of the Belorussian SSR is unique among analogous republican ministries in that it has begun to hold not one, as previously, but two wholesale trade fairs for the sale of goods by trade organizations. This means that the rate of product updating has increased. When preparing to work in the new way together with the trade network, an assortment of goods worth almost 160 million rubles was revised.

It is interesting that as early as 1980 the republic began its own "small" experiment, so to speak. At the initiative of the director, D. Kitaychik, the sewn goods factory in Orsha embarked on a bold and risky undertaking. They decided to put an end to the eternal disputes with the trade system over the assortment structure and models of clothes by taking the initiative for this upon themselves. But once the manufacturers had the right to themselves to select the parameters of the goods, the partners in the form of the wholesale organizations were allowed to unconditionally return goods to the factory if at least 30 percent of a consignment was not sold in the course of 8 months, and the sewers were obliged to replace the rejected products within 45 days. The pressure put on the producers by the trade system immediately increased, returns of goods increased and work became harder. But on the other hand quality improved and a figure appeared which is rare for our conditions: 100 percent product updating over the year. Possibly this is not always justified, but the positive changes are there to see.

The central apparatus of the Ministry of Light Industry of the Belorussian SSR has begun to work more intensively. It has had to urgently draw up more than 10 methodological documents and quickly convey them to the enterprises, associations and combines. Heightened demands are also being made on it regarding ordinary plan work for determining the collectives' work volumes for 2 "experimental" years, the limits of basic technological raw materials and so forth. Because one of the main ideas of the experiment is to enhance the role of the normative method of planning, ministry workers have had to determine anew the norms for forming funds for wages, economic incentives and deductions from the calculated profit for the budget.

No fewer commitments have been placed on the labor collectives locally. For the first time production plans are based on the demands of trade. Consequently, the assortment of manufactured goods has had to be updated at more rapid rates: a fundamental change alone has affected an average of 50-60 percent of this assortment. This is by no means the ultimate possibility, but it is a vital improvement. In 1983 the branch for the first time completely fulfilled contractual deliveries in all the main listed goods.

It cannot be denied that participation in the experiment is connected with increased commitments. Reorganization does not come easily. An upsurge in business-like attitude has been noted in the collectives. But there is also a great deal of assessor-like fuss, harassment of workers and obtrusive interference in their affairs. Several committees have been set up to control the course of the experiment and they, naturally, request accountability reports and information, summon people to conferences... Obviously, more regulated, uniform control over the testing of innovations will have to be envisaged for the future.

Interesting and difficult work is in progress. It is clear that far from everything has been done. The republic's light industry, which has great production capacities, has as yet succeeded in achieving only a basic satisfaction of demand. Dealing with selective demand is far more complicated and still not customary.

Here is a typical picture. In a shoe shop in the center of Minsk there is a queue of men at one counter with absolutely no one at any of the other counters. The animation has been caused by a consignment of fashionable and at the same time practical shoes. Despite the comparatively high price, the shoes are bought up at a furious pace. True, on closer inspection one can see that the quality of the uppers, the stitching and other details of the finish of these goods is somewhat better than that of the rest. What is the reason? The reason is that, while the standard of model designing has been raised, the quality of mass production has not been improved. The offensive, one can say, is not being waged on a broad front, but in individual breakthroughs. This is evident, for example, in the products of the Bobruysk footwear factory. The same thing strikes one when comparing ready-made coats in the assortment room of the Mogilev sewn goods factory and the same models coming off the production line. And meanwhile localized successes of this kind can play a nasty trick on production. The consumer through preference is beginning to accept the best models. And then the main bulk of products sell in the shops even more poorly.

But in one way or another the experiment in the Ministry of Light Industry of the Belorussian SSR has kept to its set course and gathered speed. Will it be able to fulfill the tasks assigned to it? To what extent will it be useful to the forthcoming serious restructuring of the economic mechanism? Of course, one will be able to judge on both points only after the experiment has been completed and its results comprehensively evaluated. At the same time certain principled problems connected with it have already come to light and require extensive discussion.

#### Testing for Accuracy

An experiment on such a scale is in itself a considerable innovation in management. Probably, by virtue of their very nature, extensive economic experiments must be oriented toward a flexible program and presuppose the possibility of clarifying and elaborating this program while introducing the central, leading principles and main ideas. But greater demands must be made concerning the formulation and observance of these framework points so to speak, of the experimental process. Any fundamental deviations in this case will immediately call in question the controllability of the experiment and the reliability of its results.

The chief aspect of the changes approved by the ministries participating in the experiment, including the Ministry of Light Industry of the Belorussian SSR, is that of increasing the independence of the enterprises (associations) by means of switching to the normative method of planning while considerably reducing the number of indexes set them by centralized institutions. Whereas earlier 22 such indexes were set, that number has now been halved. It is still, of course, a considerable number. More important, however, is the structure and real competency of the indexes themselves. It is a well-known fact that, in accordance with the program for the experiment, fulfillment of delivery contracts has now been moved into first place. This is a change of great significance.

How is this idea realized in practice? There are successes (some of which have been mentioned above) and also a considerable number of problems. Before innovation, 33 of the ministry's organizations were in breach of contractual discipline. Now there is not a single one. A large role was played here by the 15 percent increase, envisaged by the conditions of the experiment, in material incentive funds for accurate suppliers. At the same time reefs have also come to light.

The conditions of socialist competition for the working people in Vitebsk Oblast include 11 points for the 11th Five-Year Plan period. Prize places are distributed between cities and rayons in the oblast depending on the fulfillment of these conditions. And it has turned out that the system of determining the winners is clearly at variance with the aims of the experiment. If an enterprise in a given region fails to fulfill the plan in terms of production volume in rubles, it is automatically knocked out of the competition. But if delivery contracts are not met, a city or rayon can perfectly well take a prize place in the oblast. The same system is practiced in other oblasts. Leaders in the field explain that if the regulations

concerning contractual obligations and production volume obligations were put on the same level in competition, there would simply be no one to participate, so impaired is delivery discipline as a whole. But why then, having resorted, for example, to the points method, do they not evaluate the activities of the collectives and regions according to the degree of contract fulfillment?

The local organs have their own, mainly noneconomic means of bringing influence to bear on the directors of enterprises, and they cannot always combine both aims in a nonconflicting way. And no one has removed the volumes of commodity production from the responsibility of the ministry, and the workers of the Minsk staff of the branch remind their factories of this from time to time. In real practice the problem is resolved through compromise.

Any contract, for example, between textile workers and sewers, tanners and shoemakers, and between anyone and the trade network is a reciprocal affair, and the supplier also has the opportunity to set his own conditions. Sometimes these conditions are more rigid than those of the client. The latter simply has nowhere to go, because he was earlier attached to a concrete manufacturer. Asked whether he would manufacture a style of children's sandals that long ago disappeared from the shops, the director of one footwear factory frankly answered in the negative: their price was half that of currently manufactured sandals for the same age group. "And what if the trade network, obeying demand, proposes such a contract?" "I do not know which director would agree to it," the director replied, looking aside. For the very same reason the demand for jackets, which the population now prefers to light overcoats, is not fully satisfied.

But even if we succeed in increasing the authority of contractual deliveries simultaneously in both branch and territorial sections, it will still not be totally certain that they will prove to be precisely those contracts that reflect the interests of the final consumer. In addition to the overt and covert pressure of "gross output" on the manufacturers and limited maneuverability in the choice of suppliers, the manufacturers still have other reasons for avoiding changes in their assortment. Common inertia is also making itself felt. And for the trade network the main thing is still the commodity turnover plan, and it too is constricted in its choice of suppliers. And so the consumer is obliged, albeit unwillingly and slowly, to buy what there is in the shops.

Under the new conditions it is envisaged renouncing the practice of setting the enterprises limits in their numerical strength. Instead, it is envisaged that the norms for forming wage funds will in themselves interest the collectives in reducing their production and administrative personnel. But here is a typical case: in accordance with the production plan the Brest Carpet-Cloth association should have had 3,200 workers, but the oblispolkom set it a limit of 2,710 workers. What the State Planning Committee regards as independence is rated totally differently in the offices of other organizations. The noncompulsory according to the program for the experiment becomes compulsory in practice.

Transport workers, and primarily railway services, have fairly efficiently and successfully resolved difficulties, which earlier seemed endless, regarding

the assignment and dispatch of containers of average tonnage. The supply organs have also reacted unusually quickly to the needs of the experimenters. The privileges granted them have a positive effect on the results of the work done by the branch, but precisely for this reason they also have a negative effect on the results of the experiment. And there is no paradox here: Without control units (and they are not envisaged in Belorussia) one can only very approximately separate one effect from another. Meanwhile, disregard for this aspect of the matter is far from inoffensive. When the experimental period is over and a decision taken on making widespread those innovations at present being tested, it will most probably turn out that there are not enough suitable containers for everyone, and not every enterprise enjoys the privileges of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. Let us recall: This has already happened, for example, with the brigade contract in construction. The brigades participating in the experiment were ensured an uninterrupted supply of construction materials, sometimes at the expense of other collectives. Productivity, quality and delivery times pointed to the promising nature of the method. Progress was impeded by interruptions in deliveries of bricks, cement and other construction materials. What is the solution? It lies in spreading innovation only when accompanied by conditions ensuring its material supply, by making new demands on contiguous sectors of the economy.

And one more thing. The experiment, as is well-known, has fallen on the 2 concluding years of the five-year plan period. And experienced economic officials are concerned. This is because 1985 will serve as the basis for the entire 12th Five-Year Plan in accordance with the principle of "from what has been achieved." Hence there also arises a restraining influence on utilizing the potentials inherent in the experiment.

A successful conclusion of the experiment now in progress requires the observance of a certain minimum of strictness and conclusiveness. Basically, it is a question of increasing the dirigibility of the experimental process, preventing its erosion and dissolution in the "surrounding atmosphere," and protecting it against the influence of inertial processes. Obviously, the subdivisions of the USSR State Planning Committee, which are responsible for the methodology of such a long-term and responsible undertaking, could now introduce necessary changes or take the initiative of adopting more general decisions. Existing experience in implementing the experiment in the Belorussian SSR shows that one cannot apply standards calculated with pre-industrial precision to a contemporary highly developed industry complex in its organization.

#### Structure and Function

The strength of the experiment now in progress lies in the fact that it presents and demands a solution to certain fundamental problems connected with developing the system of national economy management. One of these problems is the future of the actual staff of a branch. Perfecting the structure of the ministries and their role--these problems have recently increasingly frequently appeared on the pages of both the specialized and mass press. Various opinions and proposals have been put forward, in some ways diametrically opposed: from recommendations that new ministries and

supraministerial state committees be formed, to schemes for combining all industrial ministries in one. It would seem that strictly empirical opinions are clearly insufficient here. Consequently, it is expedient to place the aforementioned problem in a wider methodological context.

The science of management is well familiar with that managerial malady which takes the form of the domination of structure over function. The essence of this anomaly lies in the fact that, once formed to fulfill a certain function, organization systems can aspire to self-contained conduct by turning the aim into the means and the means into the aim. In a normal correlation, function comes first and the organizational structure must be built under it, while modifying itself in order to best fulfill the set tasks. Deviations from this norm arise when a certain organ of management shapes its own interest in such a way that it subordinates to this interest the work of units of which it is in control or else develops a pseudofunction by imitating an increase in the volume of its useful activities and thereby bolstering its own importance. Signs of this kind of dislocation in the interaction between structure and function are by no means a rarity in "vertical" management relations in our national economy. This problem is extremely topical.

For example, this can appear in the hypertrophy of the ministries' centralized control over the activities of enterprises, when the latter are not only set a final target, but the ways of reaching this target are also carefully regulated. Such attempts are dysfunctional because the many possibilities and conditions of activity in the field cannot possibly be visible from the center. In this case production workers find themselves with a mass of irrational restrictions preventing them from working efficiently. This is also apparent in the choice of methods of management, for example, in the central departments' inclination to exert a command-order influence where economic incentive is more effective. Management staff are criticized in our press with total justification also for their attachment to "gross output" measured in terms of tons, meters, or rubles, which is dictated not by the fact that these indexes are necessary to the plants, but simply because it is more convenient for the center itself to operate with these indexes. The disproportions caused by enthusiasm for volume indexes are well-known. The aforementioned contradiction also makes itself felt in the "greed for information" on the part of the ministries, which increase the volumes of reports from below despite the fact that it is prohibited to demand information from the enterprises not stipulated by the Central Statistical Administration. According to research, administrative centers use only one-tenth of this information. It turns out that it is not necessary for the matter concerned, but only in itself, as a means of demonstrating administrative activeness.

Complex problems today face the Ministry of Light Industry of Belorussian SSR. The experiment exacerbates these problems by compelling one to look to the future. In actual fact, what does increasing the independence of the enterprises and cutting by half the number of indexes set them mean for the republican Ministry of Light Industry? Of course, it would be naive to draw the conclusion from this that the staff of the branch should also be reduced by exactly half. It is a question of determining anew its functions under present conditions.

The enterprises have begun, for example, to themselves calculate their wages fund according to the normative method. The State Bank keeps this work under control. However, the ministry duplicates the same procedures. The same thing happens with the maximum appropriations for administrative-management personnel. The enterprises are now permitted by the ministry and the republican Council of Ministers to reduce the price of products that are not selling. But they are not in a position to go into a concrete situation in detail, and usually accept the proposals of the enterprises. Obviously, the enterprises could perfectly well be granted the right to themselves reduce the price of their own products, at the expense, of course, of their own resources. The list of functions which it would be expedient to delegate downwards can be continued even further. But the question arises: What would ministry workers have left to do then?

We will not pretend that this problem is simply an economic or organizational problem. Albeit very modest, but nevertheless available experience shows that raising this issue in the central departments gives rise to a kind of social reflex behind which group interests lie.

Meanwhile, the experiment has shaken certain stereotypes of economic thinking and production activity that have formed over the years. And today people in the labor collectives are reasonably asking why they are attached to suppliers by the center and thereby deprived of the right to choose their own partners and, consequently, of the possibility to influence them more? Why, in addition to former professional-technical-financial plans, do the ministries also require them to compile individual plans on new technical equipment, engineering supply, the scientific organization of labor, labor protection and security equipment, measures to improve production quality, and so on and so forth, although the same measures are repeated in all these plans? Everything speaks in favor of it being expedient to entrust the lower units in the system with the resolving of many problems, by relying on their initiative and enterprise. In the language of science this process is called delegating responsibility.

On a general plane it is clear that as the organizations of the Ministry of Light Industry have been formed to satisfy the population's needs for corresponding products, this function should today be freed from obsolete structural restrictions. In practical terms, this means redistributing concrete managemental roles along a branch "vertical." Thus, the operational management of enterprises (associations) obviously must no longer be the task of the ministerial apparatus. Everything that can be decided within the framework of the enterprise or between enterprises should be placed within their competence. In these conditions the tasks of the republican Ministry of Light Industry must inevitably change radically. It is probably expedient for it to concentrate its attention on the problems of technical policy within the branch, on coordinating and integrating corresponding organizations with the aim of spreading progressive experience and renewing production, and on combining resources and personnel in order to fulfill certain general tasks (building auxiliary production units, retraining workers and specialists, determining development prospects, and so forth).

In a word, the logic of the experiment gives rise to the necessity for serious changes to be made in the position and functions of the staff in control of the branch. It would seem to be expedient to now form a special group of specialists for studying problems arising in this sphere and drawing up valid proposals. Such a group must be interdisciplinary and must include economists, sociologists, and jurists who have experience in systemically resolving the problems of management organization so that the results of its work are ready by the end of the experiment.

There is no doubt that any changes at the top of the branch hierarchy are rational only in the degree to which they stimulate and support progressive trends in its base units--in the enterprises and associations. Under the new working condition prospects are opening up at this level for significant socioeconomic transformations in light industry, which would take into account its special role within the system of social production and consumption.

#### The Social Status of the Branch

An important merit of the program for the large-scale experiment begun in our national economy in 1984 is, apart from anything else, that light industry is included in it as well as other branches. This production branch has its own social image which is very well-known to the citizens of the country.

Light industry and the majority of its subbranches are at the concluding stage of a long production cycle. The bulk of its products are not destined for the intermediate consumer, but for the final consumer--the mass customer. It represents to every citizen the results of the work of the economy as a whole. It is by these results that the citizen is inclined to judge the level and efficiency of the work of the economy. Hence, the particular social responsibility of the branch.

Today it must be stated that light industry throughout the country as a whole poorly lives up to its great social responsibility of being a final producer. Not uncommon are cases where good cotton, wool, leather and other materials sent to weaving, sewn goods and footwear factories are turned into "antiproductions" which no one needs. Raw materials and labor (and it is remunerated!) are expended and equipment is amortized--all in vain. Commodity stocks above the norm build up in enterprise warehouses and in the wholesale and retail trade networks. No less acute is the problem of variety and fashions. In many types of consumer goods or, to be more precise, in the volume of their output, we have reached the necessary level. But due to a great divergence from the structure of consumer demand (obsolete models, the overproduction of some commodities while there is a shortage of others, and so forth) a considerable number of goods accepted by the trade network end up on the "scrap heap."

Of course, it is not worth lapsing into exaggeration, but one also must not underestimate those negative moral-political consequences which are stimulated in the consciousness of certain groups of the population, primarily young people, by their contact with this commodity mass. The existence of imported goods intensifies comparison.

The already fairly high social price paid for the poor quality of work of this and certain other contiguous branches of the economy is increased as a result of activation of "shadow economy" elements--various kinds of uncontrolled redistribution of material values.

There is also another aspect in the social status of light industry: The branch exerts a considerable influence on the well-being of the population, that is, on the standard and quality of living. Through the production of clothing, footwear and household goods it forms the material world of the individual and influences his cultural development. But in addition to the quality of the commodities themselves, production holds another important regulator of the standard of living in its hands--sale price. Somehow it now goes without saying that "everything new is more expensive" or, another variation, "one has to pay for the best." With this aim the N-index for novelties has been introduced, and also so-called contracted prices for new products. There is no doubt that prices must compensate expenditure. But is the updating of a product really possible only by means of increasing expenditure? Foreign experience and also our own experience say differently. If inevitable outlays for innovation take place against a background of increased economy of labor, raw materials and energy, the modernization of technology and the expansion of sales, then the economic balance of an enterprise is maintained and even improved without any increase in sale price.

An even broader channel for increasing the price of products is the forcing out of inexpensive items in an assortment. Today it is time to speak of the negative social consequences of this kind of "enthusiasm" on the part of various branches of industry, including light industry. What is more, it is far from always really top-fashion and super-elegant commodities with unique qualities that are hoisted to the top of the price list. More often it is simply good commodities which should only have been produced at the same factories for an ordinary price. Sometimes producers begin to utilize the assortment deficits and shortages on the market which they themselves have created, by levying a kind of deficit rent from the consumer. They seem to be unaware that, in contemporary foreign marketing, following the rule "the higher the quality, the lower the price" ensures high demand and, consequently, the possibility of achieving profitability in production by means of increased production sales. It would appear that within the framework of the experiment attempts are being made to associate it with pseudoenterprise, for which "increased demand" means what is more correctly termed "reduced supply." Deviations of this kind are difficult of access for centralized control.

Finally, it is important to bear in mind another special feature of the social status of the branch under discussion. Whereas in the sphere of production of a group A, where both the supplier of a product and its consumer are equally enterprises and institutions; the manufacturers of products for final consumption deal, in addition to supplier-enterprises and their technological predecessors in the production line, and also the trade network, with a vast contingent of individual customers. But the individual customer behaves totally unlike the earlier recipient attached to a supplier--this recipient being an economic organization. The behavior of the individual consumer is far more uncertain and subject to fluctuation. And, consequently, the method

of work, economic system, and also the system of management in the sectors of the national economy directly oriented toward the consumer must be fundamentally different from those in heavy construction or in the majority of production units in the electrical equipment industry. Now, as is well-known, in terms of planning methods, index systems, and so forth they are all on the same footing, and even the economic experiment is being carried out in them by basically the same methods.

The aforementioned signs of the social status of this "difficult" light industry are of very great significance for developing ways of further perfecting management of this branch, and also for developing the experiment at present in progress there.

Working in the new way compels us to critically appraise what has been achieved and to look to the future. To a certain extent these features are inherent in the program for the experiment. But do the tasks it sets envisage the urgent and thorough restructuring of the economic mechanism which has been directly discussed at a number of CPSU Central Committee plenums? At the present stage the experiment sets more limited tasks. Obviously, the current experiment must prepare the ground, and develop further into the search for and development of more vital management innovations corresponding to the whole complexity and scale of the aims of the present period of our social development.

It must not be overlooked that a considerable number of useful experiments to perfect management are simultaneously in progress in the country's national economy; various versions are being tested for reassigning plant technical control services, as well as new methods of appraising and advancing production line leaders, collective contracts for designers and technologists, and so on and so forth. Each of them affect only individual, comparatively limited aspects of management. Meanwhile, the most topical task today lies not in simply "pulling up" certain sectors of the existing system of management to meet contemporary conditions, but in seriously restructuring it as a whole and creating an economic mechanism that would correspond to a qualitatively different level of development of productive forces and of social development. It must, however, be admitted that the period of petty, individual improvements has dragged on. The resolving of the main tasks is thereby being held back, these tasks being to intensify production and improve the quality and standard of living of the people. Consequently, it is time to raise the issue of combining hitherto uncoordinated search in a common program for an experiment which, in its depth and scale, would be capable of preparing for thoroughly reconstructing the economic mechanism.

The trend has been noted in recent years of making a transition from chiefly directive methods of management to economic methods, and also of increasing the independence of the economic cells.

Everything speaks in favor of this trend becoming stronger in present conditions and in the immediate future by means of further perfecting production relations and promoting labor and organizational initiative of the collectives. A fine example of this is the brigade contract in construction, agriculture and industry. Its successes attest to the expediency of further

developing the experiment in order to raise the principle of the contract from the level of the brigade to that of the whole collective, that is, to place the enterprise as a whole under contract. By virtue of its aforementioned special features, light industry represents the greatest interest in this sense. What is envisaged?

The one-sided dependence of the consumer of a product on its supplier has gradually developed in interorganization relations in our national economy. The supplier sometimes finds himself in the position of monopolist, not leaving his partner (the same kind of enterprise, but having a different purpose) any possibility of selecting deliveries or refusing some of them. And so it is right along the line, with the exception of the closing link, where production comes into contact with a special partner--the individual customer. It is on him that this one-sided dependence falls.

Unlike the enterprise, no one will tell the mass consumer what he has to buy, when he has to buy it and how much he has to buy. And in difficult situations he either makes use of the slightest possibility of choice or resorts to the tactic of "postponed demand" and simply saves his money. Of course, even the final consumer is sometimes forced to "take what is given." But nevertheless, the buyer is a link in the whole chain. And as his well-being increases, his pressure on production also increases. And so, it is a question of making use of the special features of the objective position of light industry (and other production units of similar status) and proceeding from the position of the final consumer in order to develop relations in this chain in the opposite direction and establish a reverse state of dependence, the only right one: the dependence of the supplier on the consumer.

Introduction of the factory-plant contract and full economic accountability for the enterprises presupposes establishing direct dependence of the wages of workers in knitwear, sewn goods, footwear and textile plants on the degree to which they really satisfy consumer demand and on the volumes of sale of their products in the shops. It is clear that the producers must then themselves form the structure and assortment of products and operate in one block with the trade network working on the same basis. The total economic responsibility of the aforementioned block for the quantity and quality of its work will bring its interests as close as possible to the interests of the population and will compel it to constantly improve its methods of work in accordance with the consumer preferences of the "final partner" of production.

There is no doubt that such a turnabout will radically change the position of the aforementioned collectives with regard to their partners, including the suppliers of raw materials, dyes, accessories and machine tools. Then the quality of these items will fundamentally affect the sale of manufactured goods and, consequently, wages. The manufacturers of products for final consumption must be given the right to choose their supplier. In some cases it will even be more advantageous for them to totally refuse to purchase albeit necessary, but poor-quality materials than to manufacture commodities from them that no one will buy. Such a change in the position of light industry enterprises and enterprises with functions similar to theirs in other branches will place both they themselves and also their partners before the

necessity of mobilizing their manifest and hidden potentials for satisfying concrete social needs.

There is no doubt that relations such as these must embrace the entire "horizontal" system of economic relations, where every labor collective takes upon itself the full measure of initiative and responsibility for the results of its work. The proposed changes in the "final" branches are expected to act as the beginning of restructuring the entire economic mechanism: in the second "echelon," their supply partners (suppliers of raw materials, dyes, equipment) are being switched over to the principles of the factory-plant contract, then the subcontractors of the latter, and so forth. The majority of labor collectives will be included in the new economic relations. This will be a true joining of production relations and distributive relations--in terms of both the quantity and quality of useful work.

In that case "vertical" dependencies also cannot be preserved in their previous form. The directions of the changes which have matured in this sector of management have already been discussed above in the example of the apparatus of the Ministry of Light Industry of the Belorussian SSR. Incidentally, not only the experience of this republic speaks in their favor.

In a word, it is time to sharply alter the direction of search. It is time to shift the center of gravity from restructuring indexes to restructuring production relations themselves between all economic partners. It would be wrong to fail to mention the difficulties and, possibly, also certain negative consequences of the forthcoming restructuring process. Differentiation in wage levels at different enterprises will increase, because wages will be directly connected with the initiative and enterprise of leaders and other workers, and sometimes--with local conditions independent of the collective. It will be necessary to envisage measures for giving financial support to collectives which find themselves in a difficult economic situation, without, however, providing an opportunity to return to passive parasitism at the expense of the state or the consumer. Consultative services on issues connected with the economy, innovations, strategy and style of management, selection and stimulation of workers, and so forth, must also be extensively developed under these conditions--but also on the basis of being completely self-supporting. Great responsibility in the new conditions will rest with the price formation mechanism. Other problems will also probably arise. Any large-scale change has its difficulties. Perfecting the forecasting, planning, methodology and methods of experiments will make it possible to warn of these difficulties and minimize them.

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## BASIC TASK OF THE AGRARIAN ECONOMY

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[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences L. Florent'yev]

[Text] V. I. Lenin emphasized that after the victory of the socialist revolution and the seizure of power by the proletariat priority should be given to the basic task of the conscious and mass movement forward, to a labor productivity higher than that of capitalism and, in this connection (and for its sake) its superior organization. He considered higher labor productivity and the strictest possible economy of labor, material and financial resources the main sources of growth of public wealth and improved well-being of the people.

In implementing Lenin's theory of the decisive role of labor productivity in the definitive and total triumph of the new social system, at all stages in the building of socialism, the communist party and Soviet state have paid tireless attention to ensuring its systematic growth. Labor productivity in the country's national economy increased by a factor of 11.9 from 1940 to 1983. This, along with other steps, enabled us to increase the gross national product by a factor of 15 within that period.

Although the high pace we have reached outstrips the growth of labor productivity in the leading capitalist countries, labor productivity in our country remains behind those states.

Today the entire course of our country's economic progress ascribes prime significance to surmounting this lag. The objective prerequisite for its solution are found in our unified multisectorial national economic complex with its powerful production and technical potential and tremendous constructive forces inherent in the very nature of the developed socialist economy. "We must make a decisive turn in converting the national economy to the track of intensive development," the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized. "We must reach the most advanced scientific and technical positions and the highest world level of public labor productivity within a short time."

# I

Increasing labor productivity, which is an important factor in the efficient functioning of all economic sectors, is twice as important in the agrarian sector, considering the need to ensure high growth rates of agricultural production despite a relative and absolute reduction in the size of the rural population. Let us add to this some features of the farming process, based on its very nature, features which demand stricter requirements concerning labor productivity. It is a question, in particular, of the uneven distribution of working time throughout the year, the territorially scattered nature of the production process and its dependence on natural-climatic conditions, and the need to carry out agricultural operations not only within compressed but also strictly defined agrotechnical periods.

As a result of the large-scale set of steps taken for rural agricultural production and social development, labor productivity in public farming has increased with each five-year plan: compared with the 8th Five-Year Plan, it was 22 percent higher in the 9th (annual average per average year-round worker) and by 38 percent in the 10th; compared with 1965, it was nearly 70 percent higher in 1980, which played a determining role in increasing the production of crop and animal husbandry goods.

Compared with the 7th Five-Year Plan, average annual harvests during the 10th Five-Year Plan were 57 percent higher for grain, 56 percent for vegetables, and by a factor of 2.3 for fruit and grapes. Production increased by 59 percent for meat (in slaughtered weight) and 43 percent for milk, and by a factor of 2.2 for eggs. This enabled us significantly to increase commodity food resources and to improve population supplies. We should bear in mind that prices of basic food staples have remained stable in our country for more than 20 years. This is a most important social gain of the Soviet people and the result of the systematic implementation of a contemporary agrarian policy by the party, the foundations for which were laid with the resolutions of the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and developed in subsequent party documents. The May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which adopted the country's Food Program, played a special role in this connection.

Having noted such achievements with satisfaction, the May Central Committee Plenum nevertheless emphasized that the Food Program has by no means been dropped from the agenda. Our agricultural productivity is still inconsistent with assignments and the substantial investments of state funds and material resources, as a result of which population demand for certain commodities, meat, dairy products and fruit and vegetables above all, outstrips production. The plenum listed among the reasons for this situation the insufficiently fast growth of efficiency in the sector and the reduced number of people directly employed in the agrarian sector of the economy; until the mid-1970s, the rural population's outflow was quite high.

Under those circumstances, the solution was to accelerate agricultural intensification and its material and technical retooling and, on this basis, to ensure the faster growth of agricultural output and even greater labor savings or, in other words, to succeed in producing more goods with lower outlays and fewer workers.

A tremendous amount of work has been done of late to achieve this in terms of the qualitative renovation and strengthening of the production potential of agriculture and the entire agroindustrial complex. In the course of four five-year plans (1966-1985), slightly under 740 billion rubles were invested in APK [agroindustrial complexes], which enabled us to increase agricultural productive capital in our public farming by a factor of 4.5 and availability of power equipment for agriculture by a factor of 3.6.

During that period agricultural labor productivity increased systematically as well. However, as the data show, it did not increase at an adequate pace but fell substantially behind the increased capital-labor ratio in agriculture. It is no accident that the slowdown in the growth rates of agricultural output of late, which was noted by the May Central Committee Plenum, coincided with a drop in the growth rates of increase in agricultural labor productivity, which had a particularly adverse effect on underpopulated and economically weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the most labor-intensive agricultural sectors.

As a result of the decline in the rural population and the insufficient growth rates of labor productivity, some farms began to experience manpower shortages, which forced them to recruit an increasing number of workers from cities and industrial centers for farm work, using them not only for seasonal campaigns but, in many areas, in animal husbandry as well.

This situation is the consequence of several reasons. They include the insufficient attention which some of our economic cadres have paid to problems of labor savings and increased productivity and the slow application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and industrial technologies in agricultural production. By no means is proper concern for one of the most valuable of our capital assets--the land--and for the efficient utilization of accumulated productive capital, being shown. Not least in this area is incomplete deliveries of machines and equipment to the countryside and, hence, the low level of comprehensive mechanization in many sectors, the low quality of some kinds of agricultural equipment and their poor utilization, weak labor discipline in a number of farms and major shortcomings in labor organization and wages.

The country's Food Program calls for taking additional large-scale measures aimed at eliminating existing difficulties and disproportions and ensuring the faster upsurge of agriculture and related industrial sectors, with a view to better supplying the population with all kinds of foodstuffs.

The program has begun to work. The 2 years of nationwide struggle for its implementation have yielded encouraging results. Overall agricultural output for 1983 and 1984 exceeded the figure for the previous 2 years of the five-year plan by 22 billion rubles. We are particularly pleased with the noticeable changes in animal husbandry, which has enabled us to increase sales of the most valuable food products to the population. However, this is merely the beginning of the tremendous work which must be done if we are to implement the stressed assignments of the Food Program.

## II

At the present stage, significantly upgrading labor productivity, which should increase in kolkhozes and sovkhozes in accordance with the Food Program by 50 percent during the 1980s, which, in turn, will enable us to ensure the entire increase in agricultural production through higher labor productivity, has become the most important prerequisite for reaching the stipulated levels. For this reason, managers and specialists in farms and agricultural associations and all kolkhoz and sovkhoz collectives must pay greater attention to the rational utilization of manpower, to improving the organization of the work and applying labor-saving technologies and to ensuring the further strengthening of labor and technological discipline.

Higher labor productivity in agriculture can and must be achieved above all as a result of the more efficient utilization of our main resource--the land. Farming efficiency is related to natural conditions and, depending on their productivity, the same volume of work will result in a greater or smaller volume of products and consumer values. The fullest possible utilization of natural conditions and upgrading their productivity, as indicated by the experience of frontranking rayons and farms, means the need to upgrade soil fertility and ensure the more persistent application of scientific farming systems formulated in accordance with the natural and economic conditions of the individual farms. It is only on this basis that we can resolve the key problem of steadily upgrading grain production in such a way as to ensure the full satisfaction of the country's requirements in the immediate future.

Expanding the areas planted in winter and spring wheat, on the basis of progressive technology, is a very important reserve in increasing gross grain harvests. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo held a special discussion on this matter. The resolution it passed notes that in order to upgrade the stable and guaranteed increase of gross harvest of high-quality grain, the strict implementation of the entire set of steps for the intensification of grain farming is of great importance. This includes cleared and fertilized fallow land, highly intensive strains, knowledgeable use of fertilizers and plant protection means and agricultural machinery, and increasing the interest of labor collectives in upgrading grain production with strong and hard wheat strains above all. It was deemed necessary to use intensive wheat cultivation technologies over large areas and to expand the areas under corn, sugar beats and other crops in 1985. This high road should be followed more extensively in all agricultural production sectors.

The implementation of the large-scale national land reclamation program for the period through the year 2000, which includes major steps aimed at upgrading the effective utilization of reclaimed lands, approved by the October 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, will play an exceptionally important role in upgrading soil fertility and the productivity of the land and the stable increase in the country's food stock. Within that period crop production in the improved areas will double.

The implementation of these steps is of great social significance as well. The people who live in the droughty steppes will acquire their long-awaited water and will be relieved from constant painful concern over the fate of

their crops. Need we mention that this will radically transform rural life, sharply improve the viability of many farms and entire areas and thus have a positive impact on retaining cadres in kolkhozes and sovkhoses and positively affecting farm labor.

The main purpose of land reclamation is radically to upgrade the efficiency of land utilization. Extensive possibilities and opportunities exist in this area. We cannot tolerate the fact that water resource construction is not always carried out on a comprehensive and qualitative basis and that the use of irrigated areas has been neglected in a number of rayons and farms. These areas are still not receiving all the fertilizer, equipment and other resources they need, as a result of which only one-third of the irrigated land has reached its planned productivity.

We are also seriously concerned with the inefficiency of land draining. Although extensive areas in the Nonchernozem and forest-steppe areas could be developed for agriculture, the arable land of many farms remains virtually unchanged and the size of the various sectors is increasing sluggishly. Crop harvests on improved areas are significantly below planned figures. Many land reclamation organizations willingly undertake expensive capital land reclamation work in some kolkhozes and sovkhoses, ignoring the simplest crop engineering projects, as a result of which the fields of some farms frequently become covered with shrubs and stubby trees.

Our experience teaches us what to do to make draining operations more efficient: we must review the structure of reclamation projects and substantially expand the simplest among them, which would enable us significantly to improve the situation of the people with minor outlays; to involve in such projects not only land reclamation organizations but kolkhozes and sovkhoses as well by creating permanent land reclamation year-round detachments based on cooperation with reclamation workers, something done quite successfully in Tyumen and some other oblasts.

Particular concern should be shown for the economically weak farms. They must be given priority in carrying out the simplest land reclamation improvements and be prepared on time for the use of engineering reclamation systems: regulation cadres must be strengthened, the necessary production facilities must be set up, and farming standards enhanced, rather than postponing reclamation projects for such farms, as is being done by some managers of reclamation and agricultural organizations.

In order to consolidate and develop the positive changes achieved in animal husbandry of late, it is important persistently to continue to intensify the sector and increase output with the same-size herds by improving breeding qualities, strengthening the feed base, comprehensively mechanizing the livestock farms and significantly upgrading the labor productivity of livestock breeders. We must not forget that animal husbandry remains the most labor-intensive sector and that it accounts for about one-half of all labor outlays in the country's agriculture.

The use of industrial technologies, which have already yielded high results in industrial poultry and hog breeding and meat and milk dairy farming, becomes a

very important and efficient trend in upgrading labor productivity in livestock farms. The use of such technologies accelerates the growth rates of output of animal husbandry goods and saves considerable amounts of working time. Whereas currently the livestock farms of kolkhozes and sovkhoses average 8 man/hours per 1 quintal of milk, 45 man/hours per quintal of beef and 27 man/hours per quintal of hog weight increases, corresponding labor outlays in farms applying industrial technologies average 1.5-2, 4-5 and 3.4-4 man/hours. Understandably, the use of industrial technologies is no simple matter. It requires substantial funds, material resources and highly skilled cadres. Today, however, this is within the capabilities of our agriculture.

The rapid conversion from separate animal husbandry complexes and other agricultural enterprises of an industrial type, which were built in the 1970s, to the planned application of comprehensive mechanization and industrial production methods in all farms must be quickly carried out on the basis of the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing livestock farms and sectors. This will be a powerful booster of agricultural intensification.

The further development of production specialization and concentration and intensification of interfarm cooperation provide great opportunities for upgrading labor productivity and applying industrial technology. Such vital basic problems of agricultural intensification and enhanced productivity require the increased attention of agricultural bodies and farm managers and specialists. All possible experience gained in this area must be used and we must avoid errors or hasty anticipations, such as excessively narrow specialization, gigantomania and the premature closing down of medium-sized and small livestock farms and sectors, the output of which is needed by the state and the population.

We must point out that gigantomania has affected not only agriculture but the processing sectors as well, and has been expressed in the construction of excessively large dairy plants, meat combines and sugar, canning and other enterprises, all of this under the sole pretext that the bigger the better. However, no one estimated the cost of transportation for the farms, which must haul goods over distances of dozens and hundreds of kilometers, the loss of sugar beets and other products and milk, and loss of weight of marketed cattle. In a number of areas, a considerable percentage of the production capacities of large processing enterprises remains unused because of long hauling distances.

We must not develop the concept that it is only the large or superlarge and strictly specialized enterprises that are allowed to exist in the countryside. Life provides numerous examples of efficient work of large specialized agricultural enterprises and multisectorial kolkhozes and sovkhoses, famous throughout the country, based on profound intrafarm production specialization. Efficient work is also being done by many medium-sized and small farms, particularly in the Nonchernozem and forest-steppe parts of the country, which use scientific farming and animal husbandry systems and industrial production methods. Let us recall in this connection Lenin's view that "in industry as well the law that large-scale production is superior is by no means as absolute or as simple as it is sometimes believed to be; there as well it is only the equality of 'all other conditions' (which by no means always exist in

real life) can ensure the full applicability of the law" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 110). This conclusion fully applies to agriculture as well.

### III

We know that achieving the highest possible results with the lowest possible outlays, i.e., maximal productivity, is the objective of all economic activities. This means ensuring high economic management productivity not only on the scale of the individual enterprise but, which is very important, on a national economic scale as well. Hence the need for accelerated development of machine building for agriculture and agriculture-servicing sectors, which is the leading force of scientific and technical progress and an important condition for upgrading the growth rates of output and labor productivity. It is precisely technical progress, Lenin pointed out, which enables the rural population which is declining in relative (and sometimes even absolute) terms to produce an increasing quantity of farm products for the increasing mass of the population" (op. cit., vol 5, p 106).

Work on developing machine building for agriculture and other sectors of the agroindustrial complex was not begun yesterday. More than 110 billion rubles were invested in the construction of such enterprises between 1966 and 1980. This enabled us significantly to increase the production of tractors and upgrade their power and to provide agricultural machinery for crop growing. A specialized sector for the production of machines and equipment for animal husbandry and feed production was developed during that period.

The creation of a powerful chemical industry in our country was of great importance in terms of technical progress in agriculture. This enabled us significantly to increase deliveries of chemical fertilizers, lime, plant protection chemicals, chemical feed additives and others to kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

Nevertheless, a number of bottlenecks, disproportions and unresolved problems remain in this important area of the food production conveyor belt. Their resolution requires, on the one hand, increased capital investments in agriculture and other sectors of the agroindustrial complex and their saturation with equipment, fertilizers, plant protection chemicals and other material resources, and the development of the microbiological and mixed feed industries and agricultural construction; on the other, which will be the most important factor today and in the future, is the highly effective utilization of all such funds and material resources and their concentration on sectors yielding the highest and fastest results.

This, precisely, is the base of the Food Program, which calls for further equipping agriculture and the other sectors in the agroindustrial complex with modern high-efficiency tools and equipment, chemicals and other resources.

Despite a generally substantial volume of means of production, the kolkhozes and sovkhoses are very short of machines for the application of industrial labor-saving technologies and ensuring the full utilization of power-saturated tractors, soil protection and reclamation equipment, transportation and

loading and unloading facilities, and highly efficient machinery for the application of fertilizers, feed production and vegetable and fruit production. Suffice it to say that today less than 2,000 of the 3,895 varieties of machines and other technological facilities stipulated as part of the machine system for 1981-1990 are being produced.

Bearing this in mind, plans call for drastically increasing capital investments in the development of industrial machine-building sectors during the 1980s. Whereas in the current decade investments in the entire agroindustrial complex will increase by approximately 30 percent, they will more than double in tractor and agricultural machine building and machine building for animal husbandry and feed production, and nearly triple in the food-processing machine-building industry. More funds will be invested in the construction of elevators, storage facilities for vegetables and potatoes, refrigerators and capacities for the meat, dairy, sugar and other food industry sectors. This will enable us to lower food losses and improve food quality.

Currently the value of basic productive capital in the agroindustrial complex has reached a tremendous sum exceeding 450 billion rubles; these assets will be increased by roughly another 50 percent during this decade. Under these circumstances, their economical and efficient utilization and increasing the production of agricultural commodities per unit of capital will become the main trend in economic intensification in the agrarian sector.

Improving the structure of the assets themselves will help us to save on productive capital. In a number of areas and farms the active share of such assets, i.e., working machinery and equipment, experienced major deformations. The share of such assets in agriculture today is slightly more than 16 percent and is continuing to decline. As a results, many power systems on the farms, particularly energy-saturated tractors, are not equipped with the necessary sets of attachments. This lowers the efficiency of the equipment.

The kolkhozes and sovkhoses expect of the industrial workers to eliminate within the shortest possible time the "shortages" which developed a long time ago, to supply the countryside with the machines and tools its needs, to convert to the production of new equipment generations faster and, which is particularly important, to that of machine systems. This will ensure a substantial increase in labor productivity and lower material and power intensiveness in agricultural production and in the food, meat and dairy industries.

As to the passive share of the assets--buildings, equipment and premises, their number has significantly increased of late and holds a dominant position in the total capital of kolkhozes and sovkhoses. This is explained mainly with the fact that over the past 10-15 years a large number of extensive animal husbandry complexes and other large buildings and systems were built in the individual farms or on an interfarm basis. On the one hand, this triggered the accelerated process of agricultural concentration and specialization and the need to develop industrial production technologies; on the other, it was the result of errors and haste; large agricultural enterprises of an industrial type were built in a number of areas without any

profound economic substantiation, as a result of which some of them were slow in reaching planned capacity due to the backup--insufficient cattle, animal feed and skilled cadres. Let us add to this a substantial increase in the cost of agricultural construction, due among other things to the use of heavy reinforced concrete blocks and structures of a nonagricultural type by contracting construction organizations, as well as other reasons.

As a whole, today the kolkhozes and sovkhoses are adequately supplied with industrial buildings and equipment. This, however, is as a whole. Many farms are still short of grain- and potato-storing facilities, sheds for storing winter reserves of hay and other fodder and root crops, and equipment- and fertilizer-storing premises. Roadlessness is a major obstacle to agricultural intensification, particularly in remote areas and farms. It is self-evident that good roads save considerably on labor and equipment, transportation vehicles and fuel above all, accelerate technological progress and protect the produce. Furthermore, they are an irreplaceable condition for radically improving rural life. It has been frequently noted that the construction of a reliable road network puts an end or significantly lowers the outflow of cadres from farms and changes their living and working conditions. As the people say, "Roads are expensive, but roadlessness is even more so."

Taking this into consideration, capital investments in rural road construction will double in the 1980s compared with the previous decade. This will enable us to lay approximately 130,000 kilometers of motor vehicle roads for general use and 150,000 kilometers of intrafarm road, thus linking all kolkhozes and sovkhoses to rayon and oblast centers with a reliable road network. It would make sense to use for such purposes some of the funds allocated for land reclamation, thus providing all reclamation systems currently under construction with reliable access facilities.

#### IV

The course of intensification and increased labor productivity in agriculture and its servicing sectors is most closely related to the steps taken for the social reorganization of the countryside.

Work in this area has been significantly intensified in recent years. In the first 4 years of this five-year plan, a total of about 132 million square meters of housing was completed in the countryside, thus enabling approximately 10 million rural residents to improve their housing conditions. The scale of construction of schools, children's preschool establishments and cultural and health care projects increased. The real income of kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers is increasing, and so are their pensions, with every passing year. It is no accident that we have seen in recent years the beginning of the long-expected process of reduced migration of the rural population to the towns. Such migration declined by 8 percent for the country at large, 24 percent for the RSFSR and 30 percent for the Nonchernozem Zone between 1981 and 1983. The birth rate in rural families increased. Naturally, this is pleasing. However, we must not forget that substantial difficulties of a demographic nature remain in a number of areas and farms.

That is why work on the social reorganization of the countryside should be pursued with even greater energy and substantiation, as directed by the USSR Food Program. The program calls for a broad comprehensive set of social measures. Huge capital investments--approximately 160 billion rubles--will be allocated for such purposes in the 1980s. This will enable us significantly to increase the scale of housing, consumer services and road construction in the countryside. Furthermore, an average of 15 percent of the capacities of town house-building combines may be used for rural housing construction and up to 10 percent of capital investments allocated by councils of ministers of union republics for building nonindustrial projects in the cities and industrial centers may be used for the construction of housing and cultural projects in economically weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Efforts to streamline the working day in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in animal husbandry farms above all, must be intensified; we must continue to improve cultural, consumer, trade and medical services to the rural population.

Managers and specialists in farms and agricultural associations, those on the rayon level above all, must keep under steady supervision the entire set of rural social development projects. They must pay greater attention to cadre problems and strive more persistently to create a stable labor collective in each farm. Greater concern should be shown for the vocational guidance of students in senior grades of rural schools and for the work of vocational-technical schools and for young worker cadres in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. More favorable conditions for productive work and life must be created for them. We must not tolerate the fact that a considerable percentage of graduates of rural vocational-technical schools quit during their first year of work in the farms for a variety of reasons. This is one of the main reasons for manpower shortages in many kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The comprehensive solution of social problems in the countryside, as practical experience in the work of many kolkhozes and sovkhozes and even entire rayons indicates, radically changes the cadre situation in the countryside. Let me cite a single example: the long years of energetic and persistent work of party organizations and soviet and economic bodies in Omsk Oblast, which mobilized not only the collectives of kolkhozes and sovkhozes for the social reorganization of the countryside but also the working people in towns and worker settlements. Under difficult Siberian conditions, the people of Omsk are completing an average of 18 properly appointed housing units per year per farm. Cultural-consumer and road construction is being extensively carried out in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and rural rayons. All rural population services--cultural, residential, trade, medical, etc.--are strictly supervised by party organizations and soviet and economic bodies. A great deal has been done to improve production conditions for rural workers and for retaining young workers. The reorganization of the countryside has become a project taken up by all working people in the oblast. As a result, the face of the countryside in Omsk Oblast is changing noticeably. Rural migration has been reduced and permanent labor collectives are being established or have become organized in a high percentage of farms. It is no accident that the oblast's kolkhoz and sovkhoz output is growing at a high pace and is distinguished by higher labor productivity.

Ensuring year-round employment of the rural population, particularly between seasons, is of very great social significance, for one of the essential features of agriculture is the fact that here manpower requirements show substantial fluctuations throughout the year. It is precisely this feature that determines the objective need to combine agriculture with auxiliary industrial production and various industries.

Currently, more than 500,000 working people from the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are employed in tens of thousands of auxiliary production facilities and industries. In 1983 they accounted for nearly 20 billion rubles' worth of output, a considerable percentage of which was absorbed by the farms themselves, while the rest, essentially consisting of consumer goods, was sold on the market.

Nevertheless, we must admit that auxiliary production facilities and industries are still underdeveloped or totally lacking in a number of farms. Fear is expressed here and there that the auxiliary activities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes would draw their attention away from agricultural production. In practice, however, it is frequently the case that kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which properly develop their auxiliary industrial activities, reach a higher level of agricultural output. They retain their cadres better and achieve higher labor productivity. Thus, the famous Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Novomoskovskiy Rayon, Tula Oblast, whose chairman is Hero of Socialist Labor Vasilii Aleksandrovich Starodubtsev, has a clothing and crop-growing shop, which employs more than 200 women, primarily young, operating on a cooperative basis with industry. The shop helps the kolkhoz earn 300,000 rubles net income per year, invested in farming. The shop workers have been assigned the cultivation of 250 hectares in sugar beets and 50 hectares in feed crops, the harvests of which, respectively, average 480-500 and 1,400-1,450 quintals per hectare. The kolkhoz has a stable labor collective. The farm not only does not recruit outside manpower but can even help its neighbors. It is distinguished by very high productivity and is meeting all of its obligations to the state. In 1983 it averaged 46.5 quintals per hectare in grain crops and 5,200 kilograms of milk per cow. The year was completed with high economic indicators. What did the industrial enterprises which cooperated with the kolkhoz gain? They increased the production of consumer goods with the lowest possible number of workers. They were spared the need to recruit hundreds of rural boys and girls from the countryside, to build housing for them in the city, etc.

## V

Achieving the highest possible labor productivity is directly related to strengthening conscious labor discipline and improving the organization of labor and production management on the basis of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress.

Developing an atmosphere of respect toward labor and intolerance of all forms of idleness, disorganization and irresponsibility, and developing extensive and effective socialist competition among kolkhoz and sovkhoz collectives are the most important assignments of farm managers and specialists, rural party

organizations and soviet and economic bodies. This is a major reserve for saving on working time.

However, strengthening labor discipline and upgrading its productive strength have yet another important aspect. It is a question of perfecting the organization of labor through the collective contracting method, which strongly binds wages to crop harvests, cattle productivity and economic results from farming.

Major steps to expand the collective contracting method were taken in recent years. However, the possibilities of this progressive form of labor organization are still by no means fully used. A very limited number of brigades and links use the contracting method in some rayons and farms, particularly in animal husbandry. Naturally, however, the main thing here is the quality of organization and work of contracting collectives. This important project still suffers from a great deal of formalism and violations of basic principles, such as voluntary participation, economic autonomy and strictest possible observance of contractual obligations. This adversely affects the increase in the number of such collectives.

One of the essential reasons for the poor results achieved by some brigades and links using the contracting method is the insufficient link between wages and end farming results. This is frequently replaced with monthly advances computed on the basis of piece-rate estimates of the volume of work done. In this case, mechanizers, who are interested in higher day-to-day earnings, try to "accumulate" as many hectares as possible, frequently to the detriment of quality. They tend to select more "profitable" work, which harms technological discipline and undermines collective responsibility for the crops. One may object that this is merely a case of salary advances rather than total payment. In practice, however, in many farms advances have become a guaranteed wage to members of contracting brigades and links, which depend little or are not at all on the volume of output and production costs. Suffice it to say that in the country's sovkhoses wage advances for 1982 accounted for 81.3 percent of total mechanizer earnings and only one-tenth were directly dependent on the crops.

Perfecting management, upgrading the level of economic work in the countryside, extensively applying efficient cost accounting and using other economic levers--all that which is meant by the economic mechanism--is a major reserve for the further intensification of agricultural output and upgrading labor productivity.

Agroindustrial associations have been in operation for slightly more than 2 years. The initial steps in their activities confirmed the expediency of reorganizing the management of the agrarian sector of the economy. The creation of associations enabled us to take a step toward the more energetic utilization of economic levers for influencing the production process, combining agriculture with servicing sectors and subordinating their activities to end results--the production of agricultural commodities, improving their quality and reducing losses, particularly in areas where various sectors intersect. It is self-evident that the reorganization of management created favorable conditions for the faster and proportional

development of production forces in the respective territories--rayons, oblasts, krays and republics.

The agroindustrial associations have concentrated their efforts on the basic problems of the rural economy and the coordination and organization of intersectorial relations. However, this is merely the beginning of the efforts to perfect management. Some associations still timidly undertake the use of economic methods in farm management. They have not entirely eliminated departmental lack of organization or cases in which the interests of kolkhozes and sovkhoses are harmed by some of their partners. Some of the latter still aspire to put themselves above the farms and to dictate to them amounts and quality of services and make other demands, although the interests of the project urgently demand the comprehensive expansion of the organizational and economic autonomy of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, upgrading the level of economic thinking of economic cadres and all rural workers, and developing their creative initiative and socialist enterprise. The conversion of agriculture to intensive development and perfecting management, and applying the new economic mechanism demand that all decisive sectors be staffed by political mature, knowledgeable and competent, possessing organizational abilities and a feeling for the new.

The conversion to the territorial system of managing the agroindustrial complexes includes, despite unquestionable advantages, certain difficulties and possible negative consequences, unless prevented. We must not allow any weakening in the processes of production concentration and specialization and interfarm cooperation and ignore the development of agricultural sectors. Under the new circumstances, we must urgently strengthen the centralized management of sectors and upgrade the role and responsibility of ministries and departments for ensuring scientific and technical progress in each sector and the exercise of a unified technical policy.

The nationwide movement for the overfulfillment of annual plans for upgrading labor productivity and reducing production costs, which has developed throughout the country, and for 2-day work with saved raw materials, fuel and other material resources, are of tremendous national economic importance and are consistent with the task set by the communist party of attaining world leadership in public labor productivity. Naturally, the solution of this problem will require a great deal of time and tremendous effort. This makes undertaking its practical solution even more important. We must be conscious of this task and literally visualize it as of today. We must make our plans and specific economic decisions consistent with it.

Saving on working time and other production costs has become at this stage a crucial problem in accelerating the intensification of agriculture and the entire agroindustrial complex and achieving higher public production efficiency, and a decisive prerequisite for the successful implementation of the Food Program.

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## METHODOLOGICAL SEMINARS IN THE PARTY TRAINING SYSTEM

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[Article by V. Zakharov, first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department]

[Text] The solution of the strategic task--the all-round advancement of developed socialism--is related above all to putting the great creative forces embedded in the consciousness and ideological convictions of the masses into motion. As was noted at the All-Union Practical Science Conference on "Perfecting Developed Socialism and Party Ideological Work in the Light of the Resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum," today all cadres must have a knowledge of the basic laws governing the development of social consciousness and ideology, the skill to analyze socioeconomic realities on which they are based, and the ability accurately to assess the significance of one phenomenon or another related to ideological activities.

Particular attention is being paid in the process of ideological-political upbringing to shaping a scientific outlook, the core of which is dialectical materialistic philosophy. It is precisely the Marxist-Leninist outlook, continually enriched in the course of the building of socialism and communism, that determines the conscious activities of the person, his attitude toward nature and society and social development prospects.

Understandably, the fact that a Marxist-Leninist outlook is dominant in our society does not mean in the least that every person automatically becomes its carrier. The foundations of the scientific outlook of the Soviet people are laid in secondary schools and VUZs and strengthened and developed in the course of self-education and reinforcement of knowledge through the party training and economic education systems. Any weakening in such work inevitably leads to a deformation of outlook and opens the possibility that the human mind will be penetrated by ideas alien to socialism.

It is no accident that the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee paid particular attention to the content and style of political education and the struggle against formalism. Certain positive changes have taken place in the very organization of such training of late. The scientific standard of such teaching has improved. The works of Marx, Engels and Lenin have begun to be studied more extensively and energetically. The system of party training has

been significantly turned to the study of problems of developed socialism, as directed by the plenum. The practical trend is intensifying and coming closer to the solution of the problems currently facing the party organizations.

While emphasizing the need for further assertion of the Marxist-Leninist outlook and guiding this process, the party takes fully into consideration the professional features and theoretical training of the various working people categories. Forms of political and economic training, which ensure the fullest possible combination of the professional interests of specialists with the tasks of conceptual upbringing and training, are becoming increasingly widespread. Recent practical experience has confirmed the accuracy of this approach. Courses for the party-economic aktiv of leading cadres and for scientific communism for teachers, and theoretical seminars sponsored by party gorkoms for the artistic intelligentsia are merely some of the methods used in ideological-theoretical training, enabling the working people to enrich their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and party policy as inseparably related to practice and professional activities, thus putting Marxism-Leninism in action. One such method is particularly important: that of philosophical (methodological) seminars for enhancing the ideological and political standards of highly skilled scientific and technical cadres and the artistic intelligentsia. The purpose of this article will be to analyze the experience and prospects of their activities.

Today, the role of science in resolving problems arising in the economic and social areas, in formulating development prospects and perfecting the various components of production forces and scientific and technical progress is higher than ever before. The artistic intelligentsia, whose activities directly influence shaping the personality of the Soviet person and his spiritual world, assumes great social responsibility. It is obvious that the purpose, trend and nature of creative work of the scientist and the artist, in the broad meaning of the term, are determined by their outlook. That is why the party has always ascribed great importance to shaping the Marxist-Leninist outlook of scientific and scientific-technical cadres and the artistic intelligentsia, so that they may always rely on dialectical and historical materialism in their practical activities. The need for this is realized by the scientists and members of the artistic intelligentsia themselves. Characteristically, the philosophical (methodological) seminars under discussion were set up precisely by scientists more than 50 years ago. The seminars developed from the practice of party-political education and are increasingly becoming a special form of industrial and professional activity by the higher level of scientific and scientific-pedagogical cadres.

In his work "On the Significance of Militant Materialism," V. I. Lenin emphasized the exceptional importance of mastering dialectical materialistic philosophy by natural scientists. "...Natural science is developing so rapidly," he wrote, "and is experiencing a period of such a profound revolutionary break in all areas that in no case could it do without philosophical conclusions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, p 31). We believe that this thought is practically embodied in the work of philosophical (methodological) seminars. Their activities strengthen the principles of unity between party-mindedness and science. The topics taught are, as a rule, related to the basic trends of work of scientific

institutions and higher educational establishments. The selection and presentation of the topics are such as to concentrate the attention on their philosophical-methodological and conceptual aspects. Problems are discussed, the solution of which requires a direct application of dialectical materialism as the methodological foundation of science. Problems of the methodology of scientific knowledge and the organization of science are considered. VUZ seminars deal extensively with problems of teaching methodology and the upbringing and training of Soviet students.

The work of methodological seminars was particularly energized in the 1970s. The CPSU Central Committee decrees "On Further Improving Ideological and Political Education Work" (1979) and "On Further Perfecting Party Training in the Light of the Resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress" (1981) played a most important role in their improvement. Currently, some 9,000 philosophical (methodological) seminars rallying 300,000 highly skilled specialists are successfully operating in academic and sectorial scientific research institutes and higher educational institutions in the country. What is the main trend followed in their work today?

The resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and June 1983 and subsequent Central Committee plenums presume the concentration of theoretical work on interpreting the experience and problems of development of socialist society. It is a question of the Soviet scientists decisively addressing themselves to the key practical tasks facing the country. One of the vital requirements facing today the party committees and the direct organizers of seminars is updating their topics.

The task in the field of economics is to increase work on topical problems of socialist political economy and to intensify the study of qualitative changes in production forces and ways of improving socialist production relations in close connection with the social processes occurring in our society. Priority is given to basic problems, such as ways to accelerate scientific and technical progress and all-round production intensification; perfecting the forms of socialist ownership, ensuring the increasingly close combination of the immediate producer with social means of production and strengthening in him the feeling that he is the collective owner of the entire social property; energizing and optimizing the system of interests, with the leading role played by national interests; developing the scientific foundations and practices in national economic planning as the principal means of implementing the party's economic policy; and perfecting the entire system of distribution relations.

The role of philosophy in resolving contemporary theoretical and practical problems becomes greater. The creative interpretation and practical application of the principles, laws and categories of dialectical materialism and the Marxist-Leninist theory of contradictions, and the unity and struggle of opposites become particularly important. Problems of the development of our statehood, socialist democracy, increased role of the communist party, shaping a classless society, rapprochement among socialist nations and interrelationships between the individual and society and the collective and the individual must assume an important role in the work of the social scientists.

The need for a more energetic study of the structure of the awareness of the individual and the place which the world outlook plays in it and of the conditions and factors governing its shaping is obvious. Research in the area of communist morality and the development of concepts, such as social justice and the humane nature of our system, must be intensified. Party efficiency and the methodological discipline of the mind are particularly necessary in considering problems of the development of the spiritual culture and its significance in the ideological struggle and in discussing problems of counterpropaganda and perfecting the method of political education.

Naturally, philosophical (methodological) seminars cannot ignore general scientific problems. The study of self-organizing systems, ecological forecasting, methodological research in the natural sciences, related to the development of physical-chemical methods in biology, etc., are worthy of consideration. Research in the area of the philosophical problems of contemporary physics, astrophysics and other branches of the natural sciences is of great importance.

In a word, the content of methodological seminars as a form of ideological activities must be based on what is important today in the country's life and the development of science. A great deal has been and is being accomplished in this respect. Of late, particularly after the CPSU Central Committee 1979 decree, major positive changes have taken place from the viewpoint of the organization and content of the work of philosophical (methodological) seminars. The qualitative structure of the students and their activeness have improved. Classes are being taught more regularly (in general, the planning principle in the work of seminars is becoming standardized). Exchange of experience and managerial training is being organized on a more frequent basis.

The Central Council of Philosophical (Methodological) Seminars attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, provides overall scientific-methodical guidance of the system of such seminars offered by scientific research institutes and VUZs, regardless of departmental and regional affiliation (which, naturally, cannot fail to have a positive impact on the content of the studies). The activities of the central and regional councils and the methodological seminars themselves are governed by a special regulation approved by the CPSU Central Committee. The seminars recently organized by the CPSU Central Committee All-Union Political Education House, are working on providing scientific-methodical support of the activities of philosophical (methodological) seminars. At the beginning of the 1984-1985 school year, together with the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Central Council, they prepared, published and distributed a collection of topics on general methodological problems of contemporary science.

The participants in seminars became substantially more interested in methodological problems of perfecting developed socialism after the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Here are a few of the topics discussed: dialectics of historical development and the need to perfect mature socialism; the economic mechanism of developed socialist society; and the communist party in the political system of developed socialist society.

General methodological topics play an important role in the seminars: science in developed socialist society; methodological problems of interaction among social, natural and technical sciences; the conceptual integrating role of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in resolving comprehensive problems of contemporary science; the principle of party-mindedness in scientific knowledge; problems of scientific creativity; global problems of our time and their social and world conceptual content; and critique of contemporary bourgeois concepts of the development of civilization and the solution of global contemporary problems.

In the majority of cases, the general methodological and conceptual problems discussed at the seminars are interpreted on the basis of specific data used by scientists in one institute or another. Thus, problems of the contemporary worker movement are of equal importance to studies conducted at the Institute of Oriental Studies and the Institute of the International Worker Movement. Either one, however, has its specific approach and emphasis on specific research aspects and solutions of such topical problems. This confirms yet once again the accuracy of the main trend followed in the work of the methodological seminars, in which the study of general philosophical and methodological problems is combined with data of a specific discipline.

The participants in the seminar have begun to pay greater attention to the study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, related, as a rule, not only to the interpretation or mastery of their basic ideas but also the creative application of the legacy of the founders of Marxism-Leninism in the interpretation of contemporary developments and scientific problems.

Summing up conferences, which enables us to define the main, the essential features in the study of scientific problems considered at methodological seminars and to earmark further trends in the work of seminars and, in frequent cases, in scientific research, are becoming increasingly popular. Positive results were achieved in this respect by practical science conferences on "Topical Ideological-Theoretical Problems of the Workers' Movement and the Struggle Against Bourgeois, Reformist and Revisionist Ideology in the Light of the Resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress" (Institute of the International Worker Movement), "The Leninist Theory and Prospects in the Social Development of Liberated Countries" (Institute of Oriental Studies), "Methodological Problems of Literary Studies and the Position Held by Soviet Scientists" (Institute of World Literature imeni Gorkiy) and others.

Naturally, the basic feature of the seminars is their results. Results are determined by a number of indicators, the most important among which are the increased creative and sociopolitical activeness of the scientists; energized development of philosophical, methodological and general theoretical problems in the natural, social and technical sciences; increased cooperation, coordination and comprehensiveness of scientific research; elaboration of practical recommendations for perfecting industrial and agricultural production, management of social processes, scientific planning and cadre training; perfecting the content and forms of training and education work with graduate students, young scientific associates and university students; and increasing the number and upgrading the quality of scientific publications by

seminar participants. At this point, we must single out the work of seminars organized by academic institutions in Moscow, Leningrad and Novosibirsk. The scientific council for philosophical (methodological) seminars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department Presidium alone has published more than 10 scientific works on the study of methodological problems of individual sciences. Such publications are not only purely theoretical in nature but applied as well. The Central Council of Philosophical (Methodological) seminars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium has become involved in systematic publishing work.

The extensive use of CPSU documents and works by party and state leaders is of great importance in the ideological-theoretical and philosophical-methodological enrichment of the seminars.

Let us particularly note the intensified counterpropaganda trend of reports and papers presented in the seminar. The range of such reports is inordinately wide, from a critical analysis of non-Marxist concepts of scientific development and criticism of contemporary bourgeois concepts of social development to studies of the reasons for the aggravation of the ideological struggle. From the positions of militant materialism, the Soviet scientists are exposing the various ideological speculations on contemporary problems of scientific knowledge and waging an energetic and aggressive struggle against them. Counterpropaganda topics are discussed particularly extensively at VUZ methodological seminars in Latvia, Krasnodar Kray and Kuybyshev.

All of these are positive trends in the activities of methodological seminars. Nevertheless, not all problems related to perfecting their content and the organization of their work have been resolved.

Above all, some of them still indicate the inability to relate the problems of their science with the tasks of the philosophical interpretation of scientific laws and development prospects. Yet this, precisely, is the main purpose of methodological seminars.

On the other hand, the lessons frequently duplicate the topics discussed in philosophy textbooks and are very poorly related to scientific research conducted in scientific research institutes and VUZs and their training processes. Essentially, such lesson are nothing but ordinary theoretical seminars.

The appearance of "fashions" also adversely affects the work of methodological seminars. The result is that they are frequently organized in collectives which, in terms of their theoretical training, cannot maintain the necessary standards of teaching. We believe that we must not discredit this serious proven form of creative mastery of Marxism-Leninism. The party organizations and councils on philosophical (methodological) seminars must show greater concern in this area.

The effectiveness of the seminars is reduced also as a result of the fact that frequently the topics of the papers are not interlinked within a single coordinated problem. In such cases, the curriculum is simply a set of a

variety of topics depending on the scientific interests of one speaker or another. Furthermore, occasionally a seminar develops into some kind of lecture cycle in which lectures presented essentially by outside specialists are heard with interest but are unrelated to the methodological problems of a specific scientific research institute or VUZ. In this case we cannot consider the activities of such a seminar a form of scientific research or political training. Such lessons do not provide knowledge systems, which sharply reduces their scientific and conceptual value.

As we know, success in any project greatly depends on the person as its head. Practical experience has confirmed that wherever leading scientists or science organizers head or actively participate in a seminar the standards of the lessons and the results are quite high. Such seminars become true laboratories for creative thinking and schools for the development of high civic-mindedness and social responsibility of scientists.

Obviously, in order to intensify the ideological-political and conceptual emphasis of seminar work and make seminars a school for the development of dialectical-materialist thinking by scientists in various scientific branches, they must rest on firm philosophical-methodological foundations. We need, so to say, "philosophical support" for seminar work. In this case, philosophy consultants must play an important role. Wherever such people are available the work of seminars assumes a more purposeful and intensified conceptual nature. Otherwise, as we pointed out, lessons are frequently reduced to strictly professional discussion of specific scientific problems or else lead to the kind of "philosophizing" which, in the absence of a trained adviser could lead to erroneous conclusions. As we know, the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum seriously pointed out the inadmissibility of automatically transferring concepts and methods used in the natural and technical sciences to the area of social phenomena, and the simplistic interpretation of the interrelationship between nature and society. Unfortunately, such a simplistic and mechanistic approach to the study of social processes may be found in the work of some methodological seminars, most frequently where the assistance provided by consulting philosophers is poor.

For the time being, "philosophical support" of seminar work is not organized quite satisfactorily. The least amount of problems of such nature appear within the system of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education; the existence of social science chairs in each educational institution makes it possible to draw extensively on their personnel in seminar work. A different situation prevails within the system of academic institutes and, even more so, sectorial scientific research institutes. Regardless of its great complexity, this problem must be resolved. Here as well, the kray, oblast, city and rayon party committees must have a final say.

The high ideological and theoretical standards of the classes and their results and the sociopolitical activeness of the students largely depend on the attention and aid of party committees. Positive experience in guiding philosophical (methodological) seminars has been acquired by the Oktyabr'skiy raykom in Moscow, Vasileostrovskiy raykom in Leningrad, Sovetskiy raykom in Novosibirsk, the party committee at Moscow State University imeni Lomonosov, the party bureau of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and many other

scientific research institutes and VUZs. Active and systematic guidance of methodological seminars is provided by the political education house of the Moscow City Party Committee and Moscow CPSU Committee, the Volgograd and Novosibirsk obkoms, Krasnodar and Stavropol kraykoms, the central committees of communist parties of Lithuania and Estonia, the Kiev gorkom and obkom, and the Kharkov and Dnepropetrovsk obkoms, CP of the Ukraine. The methodological seminars of the Political Education House in the Gorkiy, Kuybyshev, Leningrad, Saratov and several other party obkoms are energizing their efforts in organizing the work of methodological seminars.

Experience in such work has already been gained. It should be studied and disseminated. However, many party committees consider methodological seminars as a kind of additional form of training, the responsibility for which is allegedly that of academic institutions or VUZs, which is the reason for the committees' lack of attention paid to their organization and work. This is radically wrong. The familiar CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Perfecting Party Training in the Light of the Resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress" considers methodological seminars one of the forms of such training and, consequently, presumes a corresponding attitude toward them on the part of party committees and, above all, the political education houses of CPSU kraykoms and obkoms. It is precisely they which could provide organizational and, particularly, methodical aid to participants in such seminars and involve consulting philosophers in their work.

It is important regularly to submit problems of seminar activities for discussion by council scientists and party bureaus. Matters should not be limited merely to the attendance of their representatives to one lecture or another. Some problems, including those of organization, require the adoption of a more active stance on the part of scientists in the councils and institute party bureaus. Obviously, seminar participants should be included in the work plans involving philosophical-methodological research; creative groups must be set up within the seminars on specific trends of scientific methodology, etc.

Naturally, ensuring the organic unity between specific-scientific and conceptual-methodological problems is no simple matter. However, we must strive to achieve this, for it is a prerequisite for successful seminar work.

Improvements must be made in planning seminar work as well. Practical experience proves that long-term planning enables us significantly to improve the quality of the reports and to master philosophical-methodological problems more profoundly and substantively; it contributes to the utilization of the results of studies in the guise of publications of scientific works and recommendations aimed at perfecting the organization, planning and forecasting of scientific developments and their practical application.

Numerous examples can be cited of a modern organization and interesting and theoretically profound discussion of a great variety of methodological problems related to the integration of science with production at seminars sponsored by various scientific research institutes and VUZs. However, it is very important today for such discussions not to be left without a follow-up or contained within the framework of the lessons and for the thoughts and

suggestions expressed, found and approved at the seminar to find an outlet in real practice. At the present time, despite the abundance of reports on the integration of science with production in seminar topics it would be difficult to answer more or less accurately the following question: What is the "end result" of the discussion of a given problem within the system of methodological seminars? How should the party organizations or scientific subdivisions related to the various aspects of technological development and application orient the activities of their methodological seminars in order to maximize precisely such "end results."

In this connection, it would be important to pay attention to two aspects: first, the development of problems of the integration of science with production in methodological seminars should be much more closely related to the state plan for scientific research of institutes, VUZes and scientific-production associations. Second, we must bear in mind that by their very nature such problems involve both scientific and production cadres.

However accurate an idea, suggestion or recommendation aimed at perfecting the process of application, expressed at the methodological seminar sponsored by a scientific institution, may be in itself, it will remain unused unless understood, approved and accepted by economic and production managers. Problems of acceleration of scientific and technical progress and perfecting the economic mechanism, including that of application, are also discussed within the economic training system and at theoretical seminars for engineering and technical personnel and at enterprises. Essentially, scientists and production workers are interested in the same problems. That is why here and there efforts are being made to combine the creative efforts of methodological seminars sponsored by a scientific research institute with an economic training course and a theoretical seminar conducted by an enterprise in a similar area of work. We believe that such cooperation among scientists, economic managers and engineers and the joint discussion of methodological problems of interaction between science and production would ease the removal of departmental barriers and greatly increase seminar work results.

Let us consider in particular the work of philosophical (methodological) seminars in educational institutions. The VUZ personnel must resolve major scientific-pedagogical problems requiring profound philosophical interpretation and elaboration of practical recommendations aimed at perfecting the training and education process and scientific research. Currently, chair, interchair, department and general-institute methodological seminars are conducted. The most popular among them are the chair seminars and, as the study of the work done by the various types of VUZ seminars has indicated, the most effective are department and interchair seminars. As a rule, their structure is optimal in terms of attendance (30-40 students) and standard of skills (doctors and candidates of sciences). All-VUZ seminars, although they include a large number of highly skilled scientists, are cumbersome, precisely for that reason. They consist mostly of reports not followed by active creative discussions. Furthermore, classes are held infrequently and irregularly. The small chair seminars cannot ensure stable work or a satisfactory standard of discussion. They frequently engage in the consideration of narrow topics, most frequently of a strictly professional

nature, without a broad conceptual summation. Hence the low returns from such seminars. We believe that we should essentially follow the line of the creation of interchair and department seminars. This would enable us to enhance their methodological standard and to discuss truly basic problems of contemporary science and topical problems of social life.

The high scientific level of VUZ methodological seminars is determined also by the active participation of leading scientists and teachers in their work. Unfortunately, such is not always the case. A study of seminars conducted in various areas has indicated that frequently the main speakers are assistants and engineers who are only just entering the field of science and are beginning to master methodology. Many leading professorial-teaching staffs do not actively participate in methodological seminars. Therefore, in such cases we should not expect their results to be highly efficient.

Therefore, the work of philosophical seminars in the country's VUZs requires further improvements and a certain reorganization. A great deal remains to be done, particularly in the areas of organization and coordination of their activities, by the scientific-methodical Marxist-Leninist Education Council of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and by similar councils under the ministries of union republics. They must also strengthen their cooperation with the Central Council of Philosophical (Methodological) Seminars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium.

Another aspect of this problem must be discussed as well. Currently a search is under way for organizational methods aimed at satisfying the growing interest of writers, painters, actors, composers and all creative workers in Marxist-Leninist philosophy and sociopolitical practice. Theoretical seminars for the artistic intelligentsia, sponsored by city party committees, have proved their usefulness. The USSR Ministry of Culture has set up a university for sociopolitical and aesthetic knowledge. Similar universities and theoretical seminars will be set up by ministries of culture of union republics and the culture administrations of executive committees of kray and oblast soviets. At the same time, however, the question has obviously arisen of developing a method for the Marxist-Leninist education of the artistic intelligentsia, such as philosophical (methodological) seminars which help us to understand more profoundly complex social processes and philosophically to interpret creative activities which enhanced responsibility for the quality of one's labor.

We believe that theaters, on the basis of which such seminars for people in the various arts could be created, would become interesting creative laboratories for actors, directors, painters, writers, composers, critics, and others. It is precisely in the course of interaction, complementing and reciprocal enrichment among the various means for the artistic representation of reality and through the integrated and joint creative efforts in the formulation of a unified methodological line in creative work that a successful influence of art on the spiritual world of the person may be achieved.

It is possible to claim that a system of philosophical (methodological) seminars has been already established. However, it is far from mature. A

great deal of work remains to be done for the effectiveness of the seminars to become more tangible in science and practical work. From the organizational viewpoints, we must increase the coordination of the work done by philosophical-methodological seminars of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the sectorial and republic academies, the scientific research institutes of ministries and departments and the higher educational institutions in the country. We must energize the establishment of city and oblast bureaus of methodological seminars in large VUZ centers. It is important for managers of individual seminars regularly to report at bureau and council meetings and to formulate a system for involving members of the councils and the aktiv in organizational-methodical, consulting and theoretical work.

From the viewpoint of content, we must achieve the harmonious combination of ideological-theoretical, philosophical-methodological and specialized scientific problems within seminar activities. Departures may be noted toward specific scientific problems as well as abstract-philosophical considerations, which must be surmounted by a thoughtful formulation of programs and plans for classes, ensuring the availability of consulting philosophers for each seminar and organizing the systematic training of seminar heads.

From the methodical point of view, we must study existing and formulate new and efficient methods for seminar classes, prepare training-method aids in the basic areas of seminar work, sum up acquired positive experience and find means for more closely relating seminar bureaus, councils and heads with party organizations.

It would be useful to undertake more extensive publications in scientific and sociopolitical periodicals of the results of activities of methodological seminars and to disseminate the experience of their organizers better. We must energize the help which the social science chairs in higher educational institutions give methodological seminars and sponsor more frequently local and regional projects for exchange of practical experience. It would also be useful to expand the practice of organizing seminars and conducting joint conferences and colloquiums attended by scientists working in different scientific areas.

Improving the Marxist-Leninist methodological training of skilled cadres and further strengthening the interaction between philosophy and the individual sciences are major prerequisites for the growth of the creative potential of the Soviet intelligentsia and its contribution to perfecting developed socialist society.

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## LENIN, REVOLUTION, SOCIALISM

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[Interview granted by Jesus Faria, secretary general of the Communist Party of Venezuela to KOMMUNIST editor V. Bushuyev]

[Text] Jesus Faria, the head of the Venezuelan Communist Party, noted leader of the international revolutionary movement and great friend of the Soviet Union, has had an outstanding life as a firm fighter for the basic interests of the toiling people of his country and the triumph of the ideals of peace and social progress, the life of a zealous patriot and convinced internationalist.

He was 15 when he began working at the oil fields in the state of Sulia and participated in the creation of the first petroleum workers trade unions. In December of 1935, he joined the CP of Venezuela, which was operating under conditions of profound clandestinity and was most fiercely persecuted by the Gomez dictatorial regime. In the mid-1930s, Faria became the acknowledged leader of the petroleum workers--the leading detachment of the Venezuelan proletariat. He was jailed by the authorities in 1937. However, the refined cruelties to which he was subjected did not break this communist down. While in jail he studied the works of Marx and Lenin and prepared himself for new class battles.

The Communist Party of Venezuela became legal as a result of the circumstances of a democratic upsurge throughout the world, which followed the defeat of fascism in World War II, to which the Soviet Union made a decisive contribution. At the first legal party congress, Faria was elected member of the party's Central Committee and of the CP of Venezuela National Secretariat. In 1950, soon after the power was seized by the figureheads of American petroleum monopolies, the authorities turned against the communists, who had organized a tremendous national strike of petroleum workers, and launched new persecutions. As the head of the

strikers, Faria was once again sent to jail, for 8 long years. He was elected CPV secretary general in absentia in 1951.

Following the overthrow of the reactionary dictatorship in 1958, Faria became the head of Venezuelan patriotic and anti-imperialist forces. He was elected senator to the National Congress. Soon afterwards, however, the pro-American Betancourt government banned CPV activities and, in violation of the law of parliamentary immunity, in 1963 arrested Faria and other communist deputies. It was only 3 years later, under the pressure of progressive world public opinion, that he was freed from jail but was expelled from the country. He returned to Venezuela in 1968 to head the movement of the masses for democratization of political life and against the omnipotence of American petroleum companies. He was elected member of the Chamber of Deputies of the National Congress. To this day Faria continues to dedicate all his forces to the courageous struggle against the policy of imperialist diktat in Latin America, and for strengthening the country's national independence and for peace and a socialist renovation of life.

Question: Comrade Faria, you joined the Marxist-Leninist ranks slightly less than half a century ago and took the path of the struggle for the basic interests of the working class and the assertion of the great communist ideals. Today, as in the days of your youth, in resolving the great problems which arise in the course of social development, the progressive and revolutionary forces and the member of ever new generations of fighters for peace and socialism throughout the earth are continuing steadily to turn to Lenin's theoretical legacy and his doctrine as embodied in the practices of real socialism. In your view, what is the source of the vital power of Leninism and what are the universal-historical consequences of Lenin's activities as the head of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state?

Answer: Lenin's life and activities cannot be considered separately from the main project to which he dedicated himself fully and unreservedly: the socialist revolution, the overthrow of the system of exploitation and oppression and the creation of the first state of workers and peasants in the world. The victory of the Great October Revolution, the founding of the land of the soviets, its accomplishments, which amazed the entire world, and the building of a new and just society, never before encountered in history, are the true monuments to the greatness of Lenin and his ideas and accomplishments.

They are also the source of the inspiring power of Leninism and a revolutionizing example for the toiling masses the world over. The practical implementation of the age-old dream of mankind of happiness, true freedom, social equality and fraternity among working people suffices for Lenin's ideas to acquire a vital force regardless of changing conditions or of the national specifics of one country or another.

Lenin's revolutionary doctrine fears no trials, including the harshest--time--for it expresses the interests of the class which holds the center of the entire contemporary epoch and to which the future belongs--the interests of the working class. The vitality and effectiveness of Lenin's doctrine are also determined by the fact that, despite the false claims of our ideological foes, it never froze nor will ever freeze in its development. On the contrary, Lenin's revolutionary theory is a science which is steadily perfecting itself and which is open to anything new enriched by the practice of the class struggle and the experience of proletarian battles waged in all countries.

Leninism lives and will live as long as nature, which always changes and renovates itself, lives, and as long as there is a human society on earth, which creates on a daily basis the most complex problems of life which humankind can resolve only with the help of the creative utilization and development of the revolutionary science and methodology which Lenin left us.

The permanent significance of Lenin's life exploits lies also in the fact that the victory of the proletariat in Russia, which was known as the "prison of the nations," proved irreversibly and once and for all the scientific accuracy of Marxist theory. According to it, as capitalism develops, the bourgeoisie, which practices a policy of fierce exploitation of the working people, will contribute, with the help of its own thirst for more and more profits, to the organization and growth of this oppressed social class which, in the final account, is destined to become its "gravedigger."

Until October 1917, this theory was accepted only by a social minority, headed by a group of brilliant and consistent revolutionaries in different countries who, engaged in an irreconcilable struggle against the opportunistic distortions of Marxism and rejecting the dulcet fables of the revisionists on the possibility of the peaceful growth and gradually "democratized" capitalism into socialism, retained their inflexible loyalty to the great ideas of the founders of scientific socialism and their rebellious spirit. This theory had shown its victorious nature on only one other occasion: the short period of the stormy days of the Paris Commune, the defeat of which was used by the world bourgeoisie to convince the working class of the impossibility of achieving any kind of changes in social relations anywhere on earth, even in countries with such high levels of economic and, particularly, political development at that time, such as France.

By the turn of the century, the international working class had become quite numerous. However, even World War I, which broke out in 1914, was unable to awaken it from its decade-old slumber, only intensified by the opportunists among the official leadership of the Second International. It was only on rare occasions that the proletariat raised its voice. On one occasion, as was the case of the 1905-1907 Russian Revolution, it powerfully introduced itself and proved its tremendous hidden potential. However, it was suppressed by merciless repressions, and distance dampened the echo of its voice. It lost its battles because of the uneven strength of forces and, in all countries other than Russia at that time, the lack of a revolutionary vanguard party, the combat political leaders of which had such a grasp and abilities as Lenin

and his bolshevik comrades, with their ability to analyze on a strictly scientific basis specific historical situation, lead multimillion-strong masses, inspire them with the greatness and nobility of the objectives of the struggle, accurately determine the place and direction of the main strike and ability and courage at decisive moments, relying on the mass revolutionary movement, and risk everything for the sake of the final objective--the liberation of the working class and the triumph of the socialist cause.

This firm and consistent revolutionism shown by Lenin and his supporters--not the petit bourgeois adventuristic revolutionism but true revolutionism in the loftiest understanding of this term, in the sense of serving the greatest cause of the socialist revolution and subjecting to it all thoughts and energies and mobilizing the broad toiling masses in the struggle for its implementation--is the first and main feature which distinguishes the communists, their inalienable quality without which one cannot speak of being affiliated with the great universal army of communist fighters.

Lenin clearly saw Russia as the weak link in the imperialist chain and was able to make brilliant use of the critical time which came as a result of the defeat of the Russian forces in the war and the chaos which had spread throughout the country's economy, in the interests of the revolution. He sensitively grasped the moods of the masses, which wanted an end to the imperialist slaughter, peace, land and the overthrow of the bourgeois system. Lenin was deeply convinced that the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, including those in uniform, would make it possible to make a victorious leap to socialism. History confirmed the most profound accuracy of Lenin's scientific predictions and the accuracy of the strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik Party which he developed, and which remain to this day an unsurpassable model of revolutionary science and art.

If we turn to the universal-historical consequences of Lenin's activities, the Bolshevik Party he headed and the Soviet state, we should mention above all the changes in the social life of humankind, which were made by the October Revolution and the seizure of power in Russia by the working class.

This applies mainly to the creation of a solid foundation in restraining the aggressive encroachments of imperialism and the preservation of peace and the protection of the sacred right of everyone to lead a human life, the transfer of the land to the peasantry and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man. This also means granting the popular masses the right to work--the real and guaranteed right to free labor. The people living in the capitalist West, not to mention in most developing countries, cannot even dream of such a thing. It is entirely natural that, in themselves, such gains, which seemed fantastic, inspired the imagination of the proletariat the world over and raised it to the struggle for its profound vital interests and for the elementary rights which remain unsatisfied to this day and cannot be reliably secured even in the most developed capitalist countries boastful of their wealth.

Question: Could you tell us the way you came to the communist party and the influence which the revolutionary events in Russia and the building of a new society in the USSR had on you and your comrades in choosing your life's path?

Answer: The feeling of panic and fear experienced by the reactionaries at the sight of revolutionary Russia and the building of socialism in it were so profound from the very start, that the Gomez tyrannical regime, which ruled Venezuela from 1905 to 1935, punished with the death penalty anyone suspected of communist sympathies. However, in order not to arouse the curiosity of the people, who may have simply asked "What is communism?" at the same time the regime did not allow the waging of open anticommunist propaganda. Information not only about events throughout the world but even about the capital in our own country, Caracas, rarely reached the worker districts where I grew up and worked. We petroleum workers were working at that time 10 or more hours daily, for a few pennies, and were always threatened with death. The owners had brought us to a state of animal stupefaction. Occasionally some of our comrades would be taken away by the police but we never knew where or why.

In December 1935, following the death of the hated dictator Gomez, the people rose to the struggle against those who intended to pursue his policies. We demanded freedom and democracy. The crowds of people who had taken to the streets probably included communists. At that time, however, we did not know them. The communist party, the first organizations of which had been formed as early as March 1931, had been subjected to extremely barbaric repression. Nearly all party fathers were wasting away in jail. Some had been exiled and only a few had been able to escape the hunts.

At that time I was working in Cabimas. After the week-long street battles, in the course of which tens of workers were killed but the supporters of tyranny were nevertheless forced to flee, I moved to Lagunillas, where I worked for a long time and made many friends. After a brief discussion about the comrades who had died in both places, one of my friends turned to me with an unexpected proposal:

"Jesus," he said, "we are organizing a communist party and would like you to help us."

"But what is it?"

"It is a party of workers, of progressive workers." My friend spoke to me of the revolution in Russia, the victory of the bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, the civil war, the imperialist aggression, the five-year plan and a great deal more. He spoke with great enthusiasm about those who were continuing Lenin's work.

I was warned of the danger of communist party membership: it meant a charge of treason to the homeland and a 20-year hard labor sentence. My comrade ended his story with the following question:

"Can we count on you?"

I was clearly worked up by what I had heard. The very thought that there was in this world a country where the bosses were no longer in power and the peasants had been given land for free, where everyone could study and work and where everyone was equal seemed like a beautiful dream. I answered:

"You can count on me."

"But you must learn how to read."

"I shall."

In short, I was 25 when I heard the word "communism" for the first time and chose the path of communism once and for all.

Major changes took place in the country within a very short time--one year or so. Militant trade unions of petroleum workers were organized, and a nationwide strike, which lasted 45 days and was supported by all anti-imperialist forces, was carried out. The publication of a clandestine newspaper was initiated and leaflets were distributed.

At that time, the jails were crowded but solidarity with political prisoners was growing as well. Many of them were not CPV members but it was there, in jail, that they asked to join the party.

The exiled communists were kept apart from the other inmates. However, the discipline, organization and cohesion we displayed drew to our ranks people wasting away behind bars, who had been sent to jail not for communist convictions but merely for spontaneous opposition to the antinational policies of the government. To a certain extent, the jails acted like a sort of political school. The ability to withstand torture and other qualities displayed by the proletarian fighters, acquired thanks to reading works by Soviet authors, such as Gorkiy's "Mother," not only tempered us, who had already linked our fates with the communist movement, but many other people as well who, in the final account, joined our party.

It is true that things of a different nature took place as well, worth mentioning because of their typical nature. Members of the progressive intelligentsia, who talked with us, workers, who had irrevocably chosen the path of revolutionary struggle for socialism, frequently said sympathetically: "You, communists, are confident that the cause for which you are fighting and suffering more than all other inmates, will end with the same type of victory as in the USSR. In the future, when the CPV comes to power, your slain and tortured comrades will be justly avenged. And when socialism wins in Venezuela, this will be a definitive victory, for you enjoy the solidarity of the international proletariat headed by the party of the Soviet communists."

Whenever my interlocutors would express such thoughts, I would unexpectedly suggest to them: "So, join the communist party, join our just struggle, as the members of the progressive intelligentsia in other countries have done." I was answered with silence. It was caused by the fear of the mythical scarecrow created by the anticommunists--the "one-party system" and "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Distorted concepts of real socialism and the stereotypes instilled in the minds of the petite bourgeoisie by imperialist propaganda paralyzed it to such an extent that it was unable to discard groundless fears, as it considered

events in the socialist world through the lens of its prejudices and biases. It was unable to see and evaluate the real facts which fully refuted the fabrications of international action concerning socialism and join our struggle, the ideals of which were, in the final account, close to and best representing the petit bourgeois strata. They did not deny the outstanding accomplishments of the Soviet state and its contribution to world cultural, scientific and technical progress and the defense of peace on earth. Metaphorically speaking, such people who, in a number of cases acted as our friends, while fearing to soil their hands by doing ordinary work for the revolution, with rare exceptions preferred to become the handle of the hammer while refusing to play the role of the hammer itself.

To go back to my story, let me point out that all changes of importance to the fate of our country did not take place in a vacuum. They had their foundation, their starting point. They were related to the activities of a recently appeared and still small party which was following in the footsteps of the bolshevik-Leninists, who had given the working class access to power in distant Russia.

We were literally contaminated by the revolutionary enthusiasm of Lenin's example and personality as the political leader of a party of a new type. We considered everything occurring in the land of the soviets as something close and fraternal, filled with profound wisdom, as a support in our own struggle against reactionary dictatorship and imperialist oppression. In short, the party of the Soviet communists became our guiding star.

To all of us it was and remains a party-pioneer. During those years we did not encounter any one of its leaders or, in general, not a single Soviet person. We knew of them and of their accomplishments only by hearsay. Not one among us thought of duplicating their path, for this was a fabrication of imperialist propaganda. However, even then we were firmly aware of the nature of our duty. One must tirelessly struggle for freedom, democracy and happiness for the workers. One must struggle bearing in mind the features of our country and the revolutionary traditions dating from the time of the war of independence. We had also clearly realized that this struggle must be waged under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Naturally, 50 years ago not one of us, who were at that time very young communists, realized that the October Revolution and the founding of the Soviet state marked a decisive turn in history. Nevertheless, every one of us already felt that for the first time on earth a path had been laid to peace and social progress, to making the achievements of culture available to all and to providing jobs for all. It was entirely natural that all of us began to dream of accomplishing the same thing.

It would be no exaggeration whatsoever to say that the Great October Revolution and the founding of the first state of workers and peasants on earth, regardless of whether or not its own political leaders, the leaders of the proletarian revolution thought about it, had and are continuing to have an influence on the development and growth of all democratic and liberation movements and on the changes which have taken place in dozens of countries both close to and very far from the Soviet Union.

Question: Soon after the events you described, fascism unleashed World War II. How was the course of the war perceived in Venezuela and how was the role which the Soviet Union played in ensuring victory over fascism and the subsequent changes in the world assessed?

Answer: Let me begin with an earlier, with the prewar period. One of the first victims of fascist aggression was the Republic of Spain. Under those most difficult conditions, the international solidarity of the Soviet people, who came to the aid of the fighting people of Spain, was displayed clearly. At that time, all of us saw with our own eyes the meaning of proletarian internationalism in action. It was under those circumstances that the party of the Spanish communists displayed its best qualities. As a whole, the years of struggle against fascism in Spain became a good lesson for the communists in Venezuela and the working class the world over. This lesson has not been forgotten.

In 1941, with no declaration of war, Hitlerite Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union. The purpose of the attack was obvious: to fulfill the dream of the entire international reaction--to destroy, to sweep off the face of the earth, the first socialist state in the world. Bearing in mind the ease with which the fascists had already conquered the other European countries, everyone except the communists predicted that the USSR would be defeated. I well remember the cries in Venezuela of people of European origin, who had escaped from the horrors of fascism. At that time they had lost all hope. They were unable to assess the fighting spirit of the Soviet people, of the Soviet communists at the front or struggling in the rear. Naturally, we too found it difficult to imagine this in its entirety. However, our minds and hearts sensed and were convinced of the fact that, although not so quickly as one would wish, in any case Hitler and his bloody hordes would be defeated.

After the end of the most horrible war in the history of mankind, the outcome of which was decided by the heroism and courage of the Soviet comrades, we suddenly realized that had it not been for the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, and had the Soviet people not built a powerful industrially developed socialist state within a fantastically short time, who knows, perhaps the Hitlerites might have been able to enslave the entire world for decades on end. Without the victory won by the bolsheviks in 1917 and without the defeat of fascism by the Red Army in 1945 there would have been no liberation, at least in the first postwar years, of the Chinese, Indian and Indonesian peoples; there would have been no tremendous democratic changes in Latin America and the imperialist colonial system would not have collapsed. All mankind owes such achievements to the Great October Revolution, the victory of the Soviet people and its armed forces in the war and to Lenin's homeland.

Starting with 1945, the voice of the Soviet Union began to be heard with increasing authority in world forums, calling for solidarity with the peoples on earth enslaved by imperialism. Throughout that time the USSR--the offspring of the October Revolution--remained the loyal and reliable friend of those fighting for freedom and national independence.

Whether it likes it or not, world capitalism is forced to take into consideration the growing importance and power of the Soviet Union, and the live example it sets to the working people of all countries. The very fact of the existence of the USSR helped the working class in the nonsocialist part of the world, including in many developing countries, to win major victories in the course of a persistent struggle: the recognition of trade union organizations, the adoption of labor legislations, ensuring the right to legal activities by political organizations, including, in frequent cases, the communist parties, and the right to an 8-hour work day and, although quite limited but nevertheless currently extant, the right to social security and pension.

Naturally, in a number of capitalist countries such gains are being steadily depreciated. They are being reduced to naught by governmental and judicial authorities and private entrepreneurs, and elected communist representatives are occasionally sent to jail like war criminals. In Venezuela, for example, such measures have been repeatedly applied toward communists and other revolutionary-leaning deputies. According to the representatives of the "democratic authorities," the speeches and exposures made by communists in Parliament are explosives made in Moscow.

Naturally, the working people are aware of the impermanent nature of the "democratic" policy pursued by bourgeois governments and the fragility of social concessions extracted thanks to the struggle waged by the working class. However, awareness of the fact that it was precisely for the democratization of political life and for improving the social situation of the working people that our class brothers struggled in Russia and other countries which are now socialist, and that they too began with the same type of struggle and in the course of the struggle acquired the necessary experience for final victory, gives us an unabated incentive in our own battles for socialism.

Question: You have frequently had the opportunity to visit our country and to see the life of our people at different stages in building socialism. What impresses you most when you come to the Soviet Union?

Answer: Over the past 35 years I have visited the USSR and the other socialist countries repeatedly and paid frequent visits to industrial enterprises and talked with workers. Do you know what has invariably impressed me more than anything else? The inevitable question, "What do you think of our plant?" The very formulation of this question would be inconceivable in the case of working people in capitalist countries.

I believe that the principal gain of the working class, which seized the power, is, although this in itself is more than grand, not so much that socialism has ensured jobs for men and women and pensions for the aged and the disabled, and has created conditions for a happy and rich childhood for the young generations and is preparing young people for an independent life. The great accomplishment is that for the first time in human history, under socialism the working people develop a strong feeling of ownership of their country, their land and their enterprise. The concept of "our plant" is not a

declaration or empty words but reality. Equally real is the confidence of the working people under socialism in their present and their future, a confidence that they will never be threatened by unemployment, that they will have a roof over their heads, never suffer from hunger or be short of means to raise and educate their children or obtain medical help and medicines.

As I became a mature person, I became increasingly convinced of the tremendous importance which confidence in the present and the future has to a worker's family. I have terrible memories of my childhood and adolescence and of the way we, thousands and thousands of us, suffered from the horrible tragedy of hunger. For many years this hung over us like a severe, mortal illness. Happily, the new generations of people who were born and grew up under socialism cannot conceive of how horrible and exhausting the disease of hunger is to man.

The real rather than merely proclaimed, as is frequently the case under capitalism, freedom, national independence and really guaranteed human rights to free education and use of the achievements of culture, medical care, education and housing, as well as many others things both actually available and constitutionally guaranteed to the working people in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, are unquestionably a tremendous accomplishment which makes an infinite impression on the working people in the capitalist West. Such visible socialist accomplishments become, not in words but in fact, the banners of hope and a source of inspiration for the working people in countries which are still under the yoke of capitalism.

Naturally, we well know the tremendous cost at which such gains have been achieved. We know the obstacles erected by imperialism and international reaction, which had to be and have to be surmounted to this day by the Soviet Union so that, despite all difficulties, both objective and artificially created by the class enemy, with the help of the arms race it imposes, for the Soviet Union to be able successfully to resolve the problems which arise in the course of building and perfecting the new society and ensuring the working people with increasingly better living conditions. We also know that such accomplishments could have been even greater without the constant need to repel covert or overt efforts on the part of imperialist circles to undermine the foundations of socialism, to deal with the live example of the Soviet Union, which is revolutionizing the masses, and to uproot from the awareness of the people the very recollection of the greatest possible exploit ever performed by a person--the feat performed by Lenin and those who continued his work.

Imperialism has never stopped to concoct conspiracies and to intervene one way or another in the affairs of the land of the soviets, where socialism sprang first. It has never abandoned the dream of putting an end to communism once and for all and everywhere. These are bare and groundless dreams! The Soviet Union, the bulwark of world socialism and the hope of mankind, remains unshakeable and gathers new strength year after year.

Question: Tremendous changes have taken place in the postwar world. How do you assess the present situation in the international arena and the role

played by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community in the global revolutionary process?

Answer: Unquestionably, the consolidation of the victory of socialism in the USSR does not automatically guarantee the durability of major or minor victories by progressive forces in other countries. However, we can only be inspired by the fact that after the October Revolution and following the defeat of Hitlerite fascism by the Red Army, the forces of democracy and social progress in countries which are now members of the socialist community and other countries not included in this fraternal alliance of peoples, achieved victories. In itself, this real fact strengthens the firmness and courage of the forces in the world who are continuing to struggle for national and social liberation, nurturing their own revolutionary cadres, acting in a Leninist style and fighting the class enemy.

The CPSU is not only an example of outstanding accomplishments in the field of the policy of peace and social progress it pursues. It has long become the flagbearer and model of true internationalism. It would be difficult to find in today's world a country without a party, group or movement guided and inspired by the example of the organizational work of bolsheviks-Leninists and the activities of Soviet communists.

The victory of socialism in a number of countries and the successes achieved by peoples only now engaging in building socialism are based on the model firmly implemented Marxist-Leninist policy of the Soviet state, the inflexible principles which the CPSU has always honored and the policy of peace and social progress, invariably followed by the land of the soviets in the way indicated by Lenin and laid by the October Revolution.

The historical accomplishments of the Soviet people have taught a great deal to patriots, democrats and revolutionary forces the world over, in whatever remote corner of the world they may be. These accomplishments have shown to us that:

First, a united people, headed by the working class and acting under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has won and will continue to win victories over the bourgeoisie and militant imperialism;

Second, that a state of a new type, similar to the one created by the working class in Soviet Russia, and which proved the accuracy of the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, appeared and can appear under the conditions of other countries, taking into consideration, as stipulated by Marxism-Leninism, their specific circumstances;

Third, that the Soviet people, who displayed their heroism in peacetime, in constructive toil for the sake of improving their own life, as well as in war, in defending the homeland from the enemy, has become a model, an example of discipline, true internationalism, cohesion and comradeship, selflessly helping other peoples to free themselves from oppression and successfully to build a new life.

In particular, the Soviet Union is providing invaluable aid in training cadres of technical specialists for the developing countries. About 1.6 million citizens of developing countries have become skilled workers, technicians, engineers, teachers, physicians, and so on, with Soviet help. Nothing similar has ever occurred in the history of mankind. We have the opportunity to see with our own eyes how thanks to such help splendid higher and secondary schools were created in the small island of Cuba, located at such great distance from the Soviet Union, schools which, in turn, are training thousands of specialists for the African countries and many for countries in Latin America and Asia.

What capitalist country, including the most powerful, is giving such support to countries lagging in economic development? Naturally, none. Conversely, the United States is trying to lure and "buy out" the best specialists and scientists, who were trained in the USSR and who returned to their homelands in Latin America. The bourgeois governments in the Latin American countries are furthermore proving themselves unable to prevent the drain of technical cadres trained in the socialist countries.

Any honest and unprejudiced researcher must admit that diplomatic or simply human relations existing between the Soviet Union and African, Arab, Asian and Latin American countries are not only an essentially new type of international relations but also one of the ways of providing vitally important support to those who have such great need for technical, scientific and material aid.

What a drastic difference exists between the noble line followed by the Soviet Union in the international arena and the policy of the United States, a policy it has pursued literally from its very founding. For after it gained its independence, it essentially merely replaced one slaveowner with another. It was almost almost a century later that slavery was abolished in the United States.

As time went on, as a powerful country which owned millions of black and Indian slaves, the United States became the watchdog which protected slavery in Central and South America and the Caribbean. Suffice it to mention the fact that during the war for independence in Latin America it did not sell a single rifle to our liberator Bolivar and his army. That is why to this day his words remain just: "Providence has destined the United States to bring poverty to South America, concealed behind the name of freedom...."

To millions of Latin American patriots, from Mexico, which lost more than half of its national territory as a result of U.S. aggression, to Argentina, with its still-festering wound from the Malvinas war, this statement by Bolivar remains valid to this day. The bloody anti-people's regimes which exist in a number of Latin American countries and which frequently outstrip with their inhumanity even the tyranny of the colonial period, remain in power through fire and the sword, leaning only on the help of U.S. imperialism.

Yes, some peoples have been able to break the chain of imperialist slavery: the peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua. However, the United States is doing everything possible to isolate them and is subjecting these countries to economic and military pressure. Without the heroism of the soldiers and

detachments of the volunteer militia and without the firm support of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, they would have been crushed and drowned in blood, as has frequently been the case in the past, with Guatemala in 1954, Chile in 1973 or Grenada in 1983, for example. The path followed by the patriots of Cuba and Nicaragua to victory and accession to power is an entirely new phenomenon in the history of Latin American peoples. This path, however, was made possible only thanks to two conditions: in order to keep their power the patriots were forced, first of all, to learn how to defend it with the force of arms; secondly, not to fear the fraternal help of the country born of the October Revolution, Lenin's homeland.

It is self-evident that everything I have said here is stubbornly denied and will be denied by bourgeois propaganda. However, this constant denial and the casting of aspersions at anything related to socialism and the Soviet Union is totally worthless compared to the inspiring reality of facts which no one can conceal or ignore. As to us, the old revolutionaries, who were still very young during the days of this sinister, merciless and cruel past which we personally experienced, we have both the possibility and the right to compare the world, as it was before the Great October Revolution and the building of socialism in Lenin's homeland, with the world as it is today, when socialism has become the main, the determining factor in international development. We can confidently say that the situation in the world will become increasingly better as the Soviet people fulfill their plans for each one of their new and ever more striking five-year plans. The successes achieved by the Soviet people in perfecting developed socialism are not only a contribution to the further accelerated development of the Soviet Union itself but of the cause of the socialist rebirth of all mankind as well.

The peoples the world over feel a most profound gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet state for their tireless struggle in the defense of peace and against the threat of nuclear catastrophe with which the insane adventuristic imperialist policy is fraught. This struggle, unsparingly waged by Lenin's homeland, can be described only as the most important battle for the fate of human civilization itself and for the salvation and future of mankind.

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## THIRTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

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[Article by Kaysone Phomvihane, Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic]

[Text] On 22 March the Lao people celebrated the 30th anniversary of the creation of their Marxist-Leninist party, the continuator of the great cause of the Communist Party of Indochina--the Lao People's Revolutionary Party--which has headed the Lao revolution since 1955. The past 30 years have been a period of difficult but great struggle, which inscribed bright pages in the history of the national liberation movement of the Lao people. During that time our people achieved many outstanding victories: it defeated the forces of imperialism, neocolonialism and expansionism, restored the independence of the homeland and gained its freedom. Persistently surmounting difficulties and privations, it undertook to build the foundations of socialism, promoting the comprehensive development of its country and ensuring the well-being and happy life of all working people and making an active contribution to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress on earth. Such tremendous accomplishments became possible above all thanks to the proper LPRP [Lao People's Revolutionary Party] leadership.

The revolutionary struggle of the Lao people is inseparably related to more than 50 years of struggle waged by all the peoples of Indochina for independence, freedom and socialism. The development of the global revolutionary process, the beginning of which was laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution, provided the prerequisites for the founding of a political party of a new type in 1930--the Communist Party of Indochina--created and raised by the great Ho Chi Minh. It firmly took the positions of a truly revolutionary and scientific doctrine--Marxism-Leninism--practically applying its conclusions and stipulations on the laws and specifics of revolutions under conditions of colonial, feudal and economically backward countries, and the growth of national liberation into proletarian revolutions.

Subsequent to the decision made at the Second CP of Indochina Congress, which was held in February 1951, of creating independent parties in each one of the three countries--Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea--while continuing to head the liberation struggle of the people against the French colonizers, the Lao

communists directly began preparations for the founding of their own political party.

On 22 March 1955, our first party congress, which represented 400 Lao communists operating in all areas of the country's revolutionary movement, proclaimed the creation of the Lao People's Party (the Lao People's Revolutionary Party as of February 1972). The party was created at a time when the Lao people, after rejecting the French colonial yoke, had restored the country's independence (1954), but also when new aggressors invaded Indochina--the American imperialists. They hoped that through military power and their economic potential they would be able to nullify the gains of the revolution in the three Indochinese countries--Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos--and, at the same time, frighten all revolutionary and progressive moments in the world and make them abandon the struggle.

The LPRP daringly assumed the leadership in the fight of the Lao people on the new front of the national liberation struggle waged against American imperialism. This was an honorable and great yet difficult task. The struggle was long and stubborn.

Thanks to the pursuit of a proper political course and military strategy and the creative use of the rich arsenal of means and methods of waging revolutionary war and the making of the revolution, having mobilized the full power of the people and the revolutionary armed forces and relying on the combat alliance among the three Indochinese countries and the support of the entire socialist community, our party defeated the strategic plans of the enemy and led the country to total victory.

The second party congress was held in February 1972, when the national liberation struggle waged by the Lao people against American imperialism was nearing its victorious completion. At that time, the party already had a membership of 21,000 communists who were actively working in its organizations throughout the country, including behind enemy lines. The congress confirmed the political and organizational growth of the party and the strength of the forces of the revolution, tempered by years of dedicated struggle. It summed up the results of past LPRP activities and formulated the political course, direction and tasks of completing the national democratic revolution in the country and the gradual transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist development stage. The historical resolutions in the country indicated to the party and the people the way to be followed in the future. In less than 4 years they were implemented and became revolutionary reality.

The victory of the Lao people and their armed forces on all fronts, paralleled by the collapse of the "Nixon doctrine" in Vietnam, forced the American imperialists to sign the agreement on the restoration of peace and national accord in Laos, in Vientiane on 21 February 1973. This agreement represented the total and definitive defeat of the aggressors in the neocolonialist war which American imperialists had been waging in Laos for a number of years.

At the beginning of 1975, the victory won by the Kampuchean people and, particularly, the total victory achieved by fraternal Vietnam, enabled the Lao revolution to strike the decisive blow. Aware of this unique historical

opportunity, the party approved the immediate decision of launching a general uprising, mounting a general offensive and enabling the party to seize the power in the country within the shortest possible time. Making comprehensive use of their advantageous positions, and successfully operating along three strategic directions--mass uprising, activeness of revolutionary armed forces and the demoralization of enemy forces--and of the political struggle, the Lao people, headed by the LPRP, abolished the reactionary state system and assumed full power. This marked the loss of \$5 billion which the United States had invested in the aggression against Laos and the efforts of 12,000 American advisers and 100,000 mercenaries in which a total of 9 million tons of armaments and ammunition had been invested. The imperialist doctrine of neocolonial war found itself on the dump of history.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic was proclaimed on 2 December 1975. This event marked the completion of the stage of the national democratic revolution and the beginning of a new epoch for our country--the epoch of independence, freedom, and socialism. However, the colonial system, neocolonialism and the lengthy war left a difficult legacy to Laos: an exceptionally backward petty agriculture which could not meet the needs of the population and had forced the old regime to import hundreds of thousands of tons of food annually. Industry, which consisted essentially of processing and small retail enterprises, had declined and production and consumption heavily dependent on imports. The country had no unified market; trade was in the hands of foreign capitalists, overseas Chinese above all, and the national currency--the kip--was depreciated. Inflation and unemployment raged. Before the revolution, 60 percent of the population had been illiterate. There was an extreme shortage of schools and hospitals and national culture and the best national traditions had been replaced by reactionary decadent Western culture.

Relying on this difficult situation, the old and new enemies of Laos rallied to destroy the gains of the revolution. To this effect, as early as 1973, the American imperialists had drafted the so-called "postwar plan." They ordered the reactionary armed units of Montagnards, which had been set up on CIA initiative, to withdraw from the Lao armed forces and disperse in their own areas with their weapons. At the same time, tens of thousands of officers and soldiers of the old army and police, who had served the puppet regime, were assigned to rural areas to create clandestine bases and engage in long-range subversive activities against the new system; 20,000 reactionaries, officers and soldiers of the puppet army were reassigned to Thailand to undergo training in subversion and espionage.

No more than a few months after the creation of revolutionary power bodies, the American imperialists and right-wing Thai militarists began to move into Laos reactionary emigres who, interacting with the internal counterrevolution, were to wage an armed struggle and undermine state security and public order and prepare mutinies in the mountain areas. Furthermore, plans were drawn up for the seizure of power in some of the larger cities. At the same time, the Thai authorities mounted steady provocations and armed clashes on the border, pursuing a policy of economic blockade and hoping to strangle the Lao republic in the cradle. On the other hand, China's leadership, which was trying to profit from the opposition movement of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, pursuing its selfish objectives, engaged in subversive operations

against the Lao revolution. Beijing began to apply political, economic, social and ideological pressure on Laos.

As the leading Lao party since December 1975, and deployed along the front lines of socialism in Southeast Asia, the LPRP was clearly aware of the difficulties experienced in our country and the favorable conditions existing at the new stage of the revolution. Based on the political program of its second congress, the party charted without delay a course toward making a socialist revolution, setting two interdependent strategic tasks: the defense of the homeland and the building of socialism. The party's course and policy in their implementation were profoundly studied and formulated at the most important meetings of the Politburo and the Central Committee plenums held after the Second LPRP Congress; the path to be followed during the first stage of the period of transition to socialism in Laos was defined. In a militant and comprehensive alliance of the revolutions in the three Indochinese countries and the tremendous selfless aid of the other fraternal socialist countries, the great Soviet Union above all, under the party's leadership, the Lao people are working with enthusiasm and inspiration on two fronts: defending the homeland and building socialism.

Thousands of state and party workers and members of the armed forces are actively working in the local areas in implementing the party's policy in the political, military and economic areas, practically resolving important problems, such as repelling the enemy and exposing the reactionary underground, agitating and organizing the masses, developing production and improving the life of the people. As a result, the local situation is gradually becoming normal. The bases of the counterrevolutionary forces are being destroyed, the plans for fanning mutinies and being defeated and a significant number of reactionaries have been liquidated or captured or else have surrendered on their own accord.

The country's defense against possible aggression is being energetically strengthened. The armed forces of the republic, which include the various branches of the armed forces and which have the necessary material and technical backing, are stronger than ever before. Step by step, they are turning into a regular modern army based on the principle of nationwide and comprehensive defense of the homeland and protection of its safety.

Along with the implementation of the tasks of the country's socioeconomic development, the party has always paid tireless attention to building and strengthening the system of proletarian dictatorship: the creation of strong revolutionary authorities central and local, the deployment of party workers in key positions, streamlining and upgrading the efficiency of the state machinery and economic management system, broadening the ranks of the national front and converting it into a national construction front, and upgrading the role of youth, women's and trade union organizations in protecting and building the homeland. The party has paid particular attention to problems of party construction, above all to the training of management and scientific and technical cadres, considering this a key link in the successful implementation of the increasingly complex tasks of the new revolutionary stage. Attending schools and courses, both at home and abroad, has become the basic form of cadre training.

The LPRP went to its third congress, in April 1982, with major successes in defending the homeland and building socialism. This was the first legal party congress and the first congress to be held in Vientiane, the Lao capital. It took place in an atmosphere of active participation of 35,000 party members and the entire people, who discussed the results of the revolutionary movement since the second congress, and the further elaboration of the party's course for the initial stage of the transitional period to socialism.

The congress profoundly analyzed the characteristics of the Lao revolution at the new stage. It emphasized the main one, the fact that Laos is advancing toward socialism under conditions marked by an extremely low level of economic and cultural development, subversive activities by the enemies of the new system and confrontation between the socialist and capitalist ways of development, based on the "who-whom" principle, and the defense of national independence and sovereignty.

Taking all of this into consideration, the Third Party Congress defined the overall political course to be followed in the period of transition to socialism in Laos. It is essentially the following: to strengthen proletarian dictatorship steadily, to ensure the monolithic unity among working people of all ethnic groups and to develop their ability to be the masters of the country. Simultaneous initiation of three revolutions (in production relations, scientific and technical and in the areas of culture and ideology). Use and develop the country's entire potential and consider the upsurge of agriculture and forestry as the base for industrial development. Transform the barter economy and gradually shift petty production to the track of large-scale socialist production. Undertake the gradual industrialization of the country by assigning priority to the most important sectors. Strengthen defense capability and state security and, together with Vietnam and Kampuchea, reliably defend the advance positions of the world socialist system in the area and make an active contribution to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism the world over.

The congress listed the main objectives to be achieved in the transitional period and formulated the specific assignments for the 1981-1985 five-year plan. Having asserted the need to continue the struggle for the implementation of the two strategic tasks--defense of the homeland and socialist building--the congress formulated the trends and stipulations for a number of areas of activities. It approved the foreign policy course of peace, friendship, independence and socialism and issued the party construction tasks for the new stage of the revolution.

The Third LPRP Congress turned out to be an outstanding event in the political life of the entire country and a new important landmark in the Lao revolution. The ranks of our party are growing. It already has 43,000 members. A broad and active competition for the successful implementation of the assignments set by the congress has been mounted throughout the country. The Lao people are working with enthusiasm and inspiration in all areas of the national economy and achieving outstanding accomplishments.

Thanks to the expansion of the land under cultivation and agricultural intensification, agricultural production is continuing to increase. A total of 1.3 million tons of rice, or 354 kilograms per capita, were harvested in 1984. The cattle herds have increased by 200,000 head compared with 1981, totaling 1.5 million today. The production and state purchases of industrial crops and forestry products are increasing steadily. Agricultural cooperativization has been developed further: the country has 2,546 cooperatives accounting for 41 percent of all peasant farms and 47 percent of the land under cultivation. A number of new industrial enterprises have been built. The capacity of the Namngym hydroelectric power plant, the largest in the country, has reached 150,000 kilowatts. The mail and telephone and telegraph communications system has been expanded, currently covering 85 percent of the country. Illiteracy has been eliminated. Six thousand people graduated from full secondary schools or VUZs in the 1983/84 school year alone. Today the engineering and technical personnel number 40,000 people, including 5,000 with higher training. Pleased with such great accomplishments, the Lao people are dedicating all their efforts to the successful implementation of the first five-year plan and are preparing to welcome the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in December.

Marxism-Leninism, the historical truth of which is confirmed by the entire experience of the liberation struggle waged by the peoples today and the specific conditions of the Lao revolution, is the ideological and political source of our party's strength and great victories and accomplishments. Enriched by the practice of the victorious revolutionary struggle in Laos, in the course of which the LPRP successfully applied and creatively developed Marxist-Leninist theory, the party has been able to formulate several essential conclusions and important lessons for the future.

1

It is necessary to hold the banner of Marxism-Leninism, national independence and socialism firmly and high, as the inviolable foundation for the party's general line and tactics and its course of uniting and organizing all revolutionary forces. This is the first and main prerequisite for the victory of the revolution.

Although the LPRP was founded in an underdeveloped country with a small class differentiation, nevertheless it immediately defined itself as a truly Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, the task of which is to unite the Lao people and head the national democratic revolution, achieve victory on a national scale and convert to a socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism in Laos. Guided by these set tasks, the party undertook to structure its ranks in accordance with the Leninist principles of creating a proletarian party of a new type. Under the party's leadership, already at the stage of the national democratic revolution, although at that time socialism was still not its immediate objective, Marxist-Leninist ideology was studied and mastered by the broadest possible strata of the organized revolutionary movement. Step by step, the social, economic and cultural prerequisites for socialism were laid in the liberated areas. The class content and the proletarian nature of the struggle waged by the

progressive forces were defined from the very beginning as the struggle for the ideals of national independence and socialism, consistent with the principles and concepts of Marxism-Leninism and under the party's firm, direct and comprehensive guidance. The United National Front and the people's power bodies were created on the basis of the alliance between workers and peasants, at a time when agitation and organizational efforts were being made to develop a nationwide resistance movement. It was precisely they which carried out democratic changes, shifted the development of the economy and culture to a socialist track and, under the party's guidance, performed the functions of worker-peasant dictatorship. All of this was a reliable guarantee for the full victory of the national democratic revolution in Laos and opened the way to laying the foundations for a socialist society, bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

The aspiration of the peoples for national independence and socialism is a general law of our time. However, its implementation must take into consideration the specific social practices and tasks of the revolution at each one of its separate stages. As in other underdeveloped countries, the liberation struggle in Laos covered the stage of the national democratic revolution. Taking into consideration the specifics of the revolution in Laos--the extremely low level of socioeconomic development, unclear class differentiation and difficult international relations--the LPRP made a close study of the question of the proper and creative application of Marxism-Leninism in formulating the content and interconnection between the two revolutionary tasks--the national and the democratic. As to the national revolution, the LPRP began by promoting unity among different ethnic groups and social strata. It created a broad united national front and involved in an alliance all healthy social forces, with a view to concentrating the power of the people on resolving the gravest basic contradiction between the Lao nation and the imperialist aggressors and their accomplices--the mercantile bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy, the military and the reactionary feudal lords. At a time when the aggressor was plundering our homeland, priority was assigned to the tasks of the national liberation revolution. At the same time, however, correspondingly the tasks of the democratic revolution were being resolved as well. In Laos, a country whose economy was based on petty barter commodity output, the question of a land reform was not so urgent as in countries with a developed feudal system. Therefore, efforts were mainly concentrated on democratic changes aimed at gradually eliminating all forms of prefeudal and feudal exploitation, helping the toiling peasantry to develop production and improve its material situation, reduce dependency on the forces of nature and eliminate harmful customs and vestiges.

Thanks to the proper solution of the problem of the nature and interconnection between two tasks--the national and the democratic--the party was able to unite and rally around itself the overwhelming segment of the country's population. Shoulder to shoulder, the different ethnic groups and social strata rose in the struggle against the aggressor, defeated all of his dangerous intrigues aimed at dividing the nation, demoralized enemy ranks and, as a result, victoriously implemented the national and democratic tasks of the revolution and led the country to socialism.

Holding firmly the banner of national independence and socialism, the party not only victoriously carried out the strategic assignments but successfully resolved problems of the use of revolutionary methods and tactics. In the struggle against powerful enemies and under the circumstances of the enhanced national self-awareness of all population strata in the country, at a time when the aspiration for national independence and socialism had become an ineradicable trend in global developments, the party skillfully combined the principled nature of its strategy with the flexibility of tactics and revolutionary methods and in accordance with the ratio of forces at each stage of the revolution both within the country and in the world at large. The party's objective was to force the enemy to retreat slightly, to inflict upon him partial defeats, to achieve victories in individual sectors and, as a result, to end up with total victory. The accurate assessment of the political forces which had to be isolated or else turned into allies at the different stages of the revolution, and the formulation of slogans consistent with the expectations of the broadest possible masses, combined with extensive and comprehensive activities by the revolutionary forces in all sectors of the struggle, demoralized the enemy camp and resulted in the total isolation of the main enemy and the reactionary groups of its accomplices.

Meanwhile, the united national front, headed by the party, grew and strengthened its ranks day after day, involving an increasing number of allies, who gradually became a structural component of the revolutionary forces. Participation in coalition cabinets, while preserving all revolutionary gains, constituted the proper use of the tactic of compromises on a principle-minded basis. This allowed the party to gain time to strengthen and develop its forces so that, subsequently, to pursue its offensive and raise the revolutionary movement to a new and higher level.

Even during the armed struggle, whenever favorable foreign circumstances appeared, the party applied the method of blocking the enemy, i.e., it used only the necessary amount of military strength, properly selecting the time for offensive and armistice, combining military operations with talks. The purpose of such tactics was to prevent the enemy from broadening the war beyond specific limits. Although the proper use of tactical means yielded major victories for the revolution in all stages, the party never forgot its strategic objectives. It always firmly stood on principle-minded positions of revolutionary violence and offensive strategy, with a view to achieving its end objective: the seizure of full power by the revolution.

Holding high and firmly the banner of national independence and socialism, and covering several stages in the struggle under different circumstances, the LPRP assumed the leadership of the national democratic revolution in the country and led it to its victorious end. Today our country is totally independent and is following the path of socialism. A close tie has been established between national independence and socialism; the national and socialist features have blended. Socialism alone can ensure durable national independence and fully develop all possibilities of the nation and give the people a happy and rich life. The party has always promoted among the broad masses a clear understanding of the fact that patriotism means love for homeland and active participation in building socialism and implementation of civic duties.

On the other hand, thanks to the experience acquired in the course of 9 years of practical activities in leading the state, the party realized even more profoundly that along with the need to master the laws of building socialism it was necessary to become fully acquainted with the national features of the country, starting with its history and economic, social and cultural status, and ending with the mentality of the masses, so that, making creative use of the experience of the other fraternal countries, to bring socialism to the awareness of its people. Such is the path of building socialism in our country.

The course toward a socialist revolution, formulated at the Third Party Congress, is the result of the proper application of the fundamental laws of socialism under the specific conditions of the transitional period in Laos. Clearly aware of the characteristics of the Lao revolution at its new stage and the nature of today's international circumstances and the situation in the area, the LPRP is engaged in the solution of two strategic problems: defending the homeland and building socialism. These tasks are closely interrelated in all areas and trends of activities, both centrally and locally. As to the building of socialism, in accordance with general laws the party is strengthening proletarian dictatorship, making the three revolutions and engaging in socialist industrialization. However, the content, pace, scale, time and methods for such activities are based on the characteristics of the country's political and economic situation and the various contemporary factors. The party always remembers that a direct transition to socialism, bypassing the capitalist development stage, from petty production with elements of a barter economy, is an entirely new, unprecedented, one may say, method. Progress along this path should cover several intermediary and transitional stages, based on two processes: the restructuring of the barter economy and conversion from petty commodity output to large-scale socialist production. Everything must be created in our country: production forces and production relations, and a base and superstructure.

Therefore, after approving the general strategic course for the transitional period, the party also elaborated the basic trends in leadership and proper definition of priorities in the solution of specific problems in one area or another. For example, as the political report of the LPRP Central Committee to the Third Party Congress emphasized, "the main thing is the building of the new in combining the transformation of the old with the building of the new. The most important task is the creation of new production forces and the molding of people who can engage in production and manage the national economy." Furthermore, recommendations were issued concerning the pace and scale of such construction: "Confidently, advance step by step, moving from minor to medium-sized and then to large projects." Attention was drawn to work means and methods: "Combining the efforts of the state, the collectives and individual citizens, observing the three categories of interest (of the state, the collective and the individual working person), steadily enhancing labor productivity and observing strict economy in production and consumption." The party particularly emphasizes problems of work in the local areas and strengthening the primary units in order to move ahead on their basis in the areas of politics, economics, national defense and security. It considers such work exceptionally important today, as well as a strategic

trend in the implementation of its course under the current circumstances prevailing in the country.

Based on its general course, the LPRP formulated its economic policy for the new stage which is like a second party program, and a proper application of the basic economic laws of socialism under specific Lao conditions. Taking into consideration the favorable climate and rich natural resources of the country and the cooperation with and aid provided by the fraternal socialist countries, the LPRP formulated a strategy for laying the foundations for a socialist national economy. As to the means and trends for laying such foundations, the party stipulated the following: "Develop industry on the basis of the development of the rural and forest economy, putting industry on the service of agriculture and forestry, transportation and communications. Engage in the development of rural and forest economies and industry in such a way as to create a single economic structure in the local areas and the primary units." The party's task in production and distribution is the following: "To consider the development of production as the base of the economy; trade as its important link and transportation and communications as vitally necessary arteries. Make comprehensive use of all economic levers to accelerate the development of output and expand and develop trade relations and reorganize the barter economy. Gradually shift petty production to large-scale socialist output."

Under conditions in which the national economic base includes several different systems which could still be useful to the country, the party is pursuing the policy of "suitable utilization of all five economic systems in production development.... Giving preference to the building of the state and collective sectors, so that the socialist economic sector may assume the leading role and dominating position in the national economy. Assist in all possible ways the development of the private auxiliary farms of the families of members of cooperatives, cadre working people and workers, and consider such farms a structural component of the socialist economy." To create an economy under central management alongside an economy under local administration and to combine them within a single economic structure is considered the strategic trend in party activities aimed at providing conditions for the gradual elimination of disparities between town and country and among the different ethnic areas.

The party's course in foreign economic relations is the following: to promote among the people a feeling of independence and confidence in their forces, to use the entire country's potential and to attract aid from the outside and broaden foreign economic relations, entirely relying on the socialist system and comprehensive cooperation with Vietnam, Kampuchea, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Laos gained its national independence as a result of two wars of resistance which took a full 30 years. The victory of the Lao revolution is a victory of the party's military strategy and course of waging a people's war and developing a widespread mass movement for the defense of the homeland and its safety.

The party's revolutionary military course, which is a structural component of its revolutionary strategy, and which was formulated during the first years of the struggle against the French imperialists and was steadily perfected during the different stages of the revolution, has always been inseparably linked with the political course and subordinated to it. It was the correct and creative application of the principle of revolutionary violence and Marxist-Leninist military science in the specific practice of the national liberation struggle and the defense of the homeland. The party's military course was based on the general line and tasks of the revolution at each individual stage, taking into consideration the condition of enemy forces, the situation in the country and the external environment. The main content of this course was the upsurge and organization of a national war headed by the party, the utilization of the entire national potential, the support of the fraternal socialist countries and all progressive forces of our time, combining armed with political struggle and the use of other forms of struggle with a view to defeating the aggressor and implementing the revolutionary tasks.

In pursuing the military course of national liberation war based on the principle that "revolutionary violence is the violence of the people's masses," the party engaged in extensive activities to create the political forces of the people as a base for the construction of its armed forces while, at the same time, exerting pressure on the enemy through various forms of political struggle. Along with this, the party ascribed particular importance to the creation of the armed forces as the nucleus of a war waged by the whole nation.

Steadily strengthening these two strategic forces and pursuing an offensive strategy, the party creatively applied the rich arsenal of means and methods of struggle. Engaging simultaneously in guerrilla warfare and widespread combat operations with regular forces, daringly attacking the enemy, leaving him no breathing time, using all available weapons and winning not through numbers but through the ability to achieve major victories with small forces; combining military offensive with political pressure and agitation and propaganda work within the enemy forces and mass uprisings were merely a few aspects of the martial art applied in the popular war in Laos. They ensured the victorious completion of the resistance and liberation struggle of the Lao people and their armed forces.

Let us particularly single out the period of preparations for the uprising and the seizure of power in the country. The party accurately set the time and place of the uprising and the means of struggle at the various stages, with a view to concentrating its forces on the destruction, above all, of the most dangerous forces of the reaction, mounting an uninterrupted offensive in order to weaken the enemy morally and organizationally, to split his forces and to create their total demoralization and breakdown. As a result, the party came to power having prevented the outbreak of civil war. This was an accurate, creative and successful application of the Leninist principles and art of uprising, as a result of which the long struggle waged by the Lao people for national independence and democracy ended in total victory.

At the present time, when the Lao people, who are laying the foundation for socialism, are facing the enemy engaged in a conspiracy of many-sided subversive activities and threatening us with aggressive war, we must retain our permanent readiness to defend the fatherland. For that reason the military course charted by the LPRP has been developed further. The party's policy consists of combining within a single entity three different trends--political, military and economic--for the sake of comprehensively strengthening national defense and security. Extensive work is being done to create a modern regular army, which would be highly efficient, fully staffed and well-armed and would rely on the broad popular masses. At the same time, the people's security forces, which are closely coordinating their activities with the armed forces, are being strengthened.

The party considers the armed forces the reliable bulwark of the gains of the revolution and a powerful weapon in the dictatorship of the people's regime. It pays constant attention to their all-around upbringing, training and advancement. Strengthening the party's direct guidance of the armed forces, the development of a class-oriented proletarian awareness and proper understanding by the troops of "Who is a friend and who is an enemy," and readiness for self-sacrifice and fight to victory are considered particularly important, so that in all circumstances they may carry out the tasks set by the party.

This course has been tried over the past 9 years and has led to the failure of the plans of American imperialism and the reactionary Thai military leadership to undermine the gains of the Lao revolution and to absorb our country.

3

The victory of the Lao revolution is a victory of the party's course of strategic combat alliance between revolutionary forces and international solidarity. Acting under conditions in which socialism has exceeded the boundaries of a single country and become a global system, the LPRP has always considered the strategic alliance between the revolutionary forces in the world and within each separate area an objective law of our time, aimed at defeating imperialism and its reactionary allies. This particularly applies to revolutionary movements in countries within the same geographic area, linked with close ties by virtue of their geographic location and historical development alone. In its first political program, the party stipulated that "the revolution in Laos is an inseparable part of the revolution in Indochina and of the world revolutionary process." The LPRP has always related the struggle of the Lao people with the common struggle of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries which have shared the same hard colonial fate and a common enemy and the struggle waged by the working class in the capitalist countries and by all oppressed nations for national independence, democracy and socialism, a reliable bulwark of which is the great Soviet Union. Our party considers such international relations one of the inseparable factors of the victory of the Lao revolution.

The internationalist policy of the LPRP is above all one of solidarity and of combat all-round alliance of the revolutions in the three countries--Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea--based on Marxism-Leninism, the harmonious combination

of true patriotism with proletarian internationalism and the proper observance of the interests of the revolution within each of these countries as well as the interests of their common revolutionary struggle and of the world revolutionary process. The historical experience of Indochina proved that any enemy who has conquered any one of these three countries has sought ways of committing aggressions against the other two. That is why it is only in the close combat alliance among the revolutions of the three countries that an effective rebuff to the aggressive expansionistic actions of the enemy is possible.

Today, when Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea have acquired their national independence and are together advancing toward socialism, their considerably strengthened revolutionary alliance has assumed a new strategic position. However, further possibilities and conditions for the further strengthening of the alliance among our fraternal countries and the development of their all-round cooperation and mutual aid remain.

What makes this even more important is that, as in the past, forces which consider our countries as the main obstacle on the way to the implementation of their expansionistic and hegemonistic plans in Southeast Asia are still active. That is why the alliance among the revolutions of the three countries is vitally necessary to the destiny of our peoples.

The heroic Vietnamese people play a special role in the common great cause and outstanding victories of the three Indochinese countries. They honorably withstood all difficulties and privations. They have always firmly stood on the front line of the common struggle and victoriously opposed the forces of colonialism, imperialism and reaction. That is why Vietnam is a reliable bulwark of the revolution in the three Indochinese countries and the main force in the combat alliance among the three nations. The LPRP highly values the tremendous accomplishments of the fraternal Vietnamese people and is proud of its own worthy contribution to the great victories of the three peoples of Indochina.

At the same time, the LPRP has always considered the Lao revolution a structural component of the global revolutionary process and the struggle waged by the international working class and all peoples of the world for national independence, democracy and socialism. The victory of the Lao revolution is inseparable from the firm support and tremendous aid of the fraternal socialist countries and our friends on all five continents, the Soviet Union above all, the first state in the world which took the path of building socialism and communism. It was precisely the Soviet Union which saved mankind from the threat of fascist enslavement and made the greatest contribution to the founding of the global socialist system. Today the USSR is performing the honorable and responsible mission as the reliable bulwark of the socialist community and all progressive mankind in the struggle for a bright future, peace, security and life itself on earth. The great Soviet people covered a path of hard struggle and made tremendous sacrifices not only for the sake of the sacred interests of their homeland but also for the independence, freedom, well-being and happiness of all nations, including the Lao people.

During all the stages of their difficult and long struggle, the LPRP and the Lao people have always felt that their great combat friend--the CPSU and the Soviet people--were always with them, struggling side by side. The Soviet Union helped the Lao people as it has the peoples of the other countries in Indochina in the war of resistance to full victory. Today it is giving selfless aid to the young Lao republic in defending its homeland and building socialism. The LPRP, our republic and the entire Lao people will always remember with deep gratitude the tremendous, effective and sincere help given to us by the CPSU and the great Soviet people in the spirit of the principles of socialist internationalism.

The Third LPRP Congress confirmed that "the all-round strengthening of the unity and broadening all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist community are the consistent and principle-minded long-term policy of our party and state and a legitimate process which leads to success in the defense and building of socialism in our country."

The current situation in the world is difficult and tense, caused by the actions of the voices of international reaction, headed by American imperialism, who are trying to mount a counteroffensive against the global revolutionary process, aiming their main strike against the Soviet Union and threatening with nuclear war. Under these circumstances, the LPRP considers unity with the Soviet Union and support of its tireless efforts in the struggle for peace and security of the nations the most topical and important task of the communist and worker parties on earth. The LPRP and the entire Lao people are fully resolved to do everything possible to strengthen and expand solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist community, considering this to be their steady foreign policy course. They will not allow any hostile forces to harm such relations of friendship and brotherhood.

Our time is one of fierce struggle between the two opposite social systems in all areas. In the face of the great victories of the three revolutionary currents of our time, imperialism, expansionism and international reaction do not shy from any means of dividing, weakening and destroying the forces of socialism and the global revolutionary movement. They mount attacks on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and try to distort their essence, in the hope of ideologically weakening and undermining the internal unity of socialist countries and the international communist and worker movements. The historical example of the revolutionary struggle in Indochina and in the rest of the world irrefutably proves that in order reliably to protect and steadily to strengthen their revolutionary alliance and international cohesion, the communist parties and revolutionary movements must tirelessly maintain their vigilance, firmly rebuff all subversive intrigues and wage an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideology and the manifestations of ideological deviation from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and against opportunism, chauvinism and nationalism.

To sum it up, we must reemphasize that inflexible loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the banner of national independence and socialism, firm ties with the people's masses, the mobilization of their powerful strength, an accurate military course, building the homeland and defending its safety and

proletarian internationalism are the main factors of our victories and the basic lessons drawn from the successful activities of the LPRP for the past 30 years, lessons which today as well, during the new stage of the revolution, retain their practical significance.

Thirty years is a short period of time in the history of the people. However, it is precisely during those years that the Lao people recorded their most outstanding and beautiful pages: they defeated the foreign aggressors, overthrew the exploiting classes which serviced imperialism, and created a state of dictatorship of the proletariat bearing the first shoots of socialism. For the first time, all Lao ethnic groups gained the right to be the masters of their country and to control their destinies. Today a new society is taking shape in our country, with new production forces and production relations, a new culture and new people. The previously backward economy is being actively restructured. Noticeable progress has been achieved in all realms of output, and culture and education are developing at a fast pace. Although some difficulties remain in the life of the working people, they no longer lead a hard life of poverty and ignorance as they did in the past. Examples of dedicated work and heroic struggle by labor collectives and working people in defending the homeland and building socialism are multiplying throughout the country.

Naturally, the path to socialism is neither even nor smooth. Aware of existing realities, and confidently looking into the future, the LPRP is focusing the full power of the system of proletarian dictatorship, multiplied by the power of the alliance, cohesion and cooperation with the fraternal countries, on surmounting all difficulties and obstacles and moving the country ahead in accordance with the laws of contemporary social development. The bright unfading light of the Great October Socialist Revolution has always been the guiding star of the Lao revolution. The Lao people, whose inflexible will and courageous struggle, headed by a truly Marxist-Leninist party, led to victory over the imperialist aggressions and to the freedom and independence of our country, will unquestionably surmount all difficulties and successfully build a new and happy society in a prosperous socialist Laos.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the LPRP, and on behalf of the party members and the entire Lao people, allow me to express through the journal KOMMUNIST the sincere feelings of the fraternal friendship for and cohesion with the heroics Soviet people and express once again our gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet state and the entire Soviet people for their steady support and their selfless and effective aid to the cause of the Lao revolution.

I wish the great Soviet people, headed by the CPSU and its Central Committee, to welcome the 27th CPSU Congress and 40th anniversary of the victory over

fascism, which is the greatest victory of progressive mankind in the 20th century after the October Revolution, new outstanding successes in perfecting developed socialism and defending peace and international security.

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## PARTY'S VANGUARD ROLE AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION

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[Article by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola]

[Text] The first national conference of the MPLA-Labor Party was held in Luanda on 14-19 January. Jose Eduardo dos Santos spoke at its inauguration. He pointed out that "the holding of this conference was considered by the party's first extraordinary congress as the most suitable means of providing a critical analysis of our socioeconomic and military-political life and a necessary prerequisite for the interpretation of our progress toward socialism."

Following are somewhat abridged portions of the speech discussing the role and place of the party in the system of the revolutionary-democratic regime and the constructive activities of the Angolan people.

Even when the MPLA was a broad national liberation movement--the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola--it had been able to find the most accurate way of resolving its problems. This quality is closely related to its progressive and revolutionary nature and clearly expressed in its basic documents and work methods. It also enabled it to surmount all critical moments in the development of our organization. This particularly applied to the crises during which imperialism and its agents were trying to question the very existence of the MPLA as the most progressive national political force defending the interests of the oppressed and exploited people's masses, through their actions within the country and abroad.

It is obvious that the proper solution of contradictions and the clear identification of the main enemy at each stage of the struggle secured for our organization the possibility of concentrating the forces and energy of the people's masses along the main direction, with a view to defeating the enemy militarily, politically and diplomatically.

After acquiring their national independence, headed by the MPLA the Angolan people achieved outstanding historical victories over Portuguese colonialism

and international imperialism which supported it; the toiling masses gained political power and proclaimed a course of continuation of the Angolan revolution and set the building of socialism as their strategic objective.

One way or another, the enemy felt our consistent revolutionary activities. Both internal and external enemies tried to adapt to the new circumstances in order to be able to mount attacks leading to the destruction of the MPLA-Labor Party and the Angolan revolution. The conditions and methods of action of imperialism may have changed. However, its objectives in Angola have remained the same. Our people must apply all possible military, political, diplomatic, economic and other means in its defense.

Our party members closely watched the intrigues of imperialism and its agents and of the opportunists who abounded at all stages of the revolution. The working people--workers, peasants and the revolutionary intelligentsia--have always sided with the party and trusted its ability to lead their victorious struggle for socialism.

That is the reason for which we have gathered here today, and that the entire people--from Cabinda to Cunene--are following us. We have gathered to analyze the distance we have covered, to expose shortcomings and suggest to the forthcoming congress the way to eliminate them, jointly to find means of energizing the party's work, to upgrade intraparty discipline and cohesion, to strengthen national unity and to intensify the struggle against the UNITA gangs--the real enemy of our people. We bear great responsibility to history and the people.

In accordance with the principles of our political system, it is precisely the party which leads the state and society, for which reason it must direct and wage the struggle in all fields of life in the country in order to destroy the enemy or neutralize his actions and to ensure the triumph of the cause of the revolution. The party alone has the type of organization, will and possibilities, although not ideal so far, to implement a program for the radical reorganization of a society inherited from the colonial past, for the good of the toiling masses which were fiercely exploited during that dramatic period of our history.

That is why we must first of all determine the reasons for the shortcomings remaining in our work and our party activities.

An efficient organizational structure was created in the MPLA-Labor Party following the campaign for the purge of party ranks, a structure which enabled us to improve its activities from top to bottom.

In order to ensure a greater consistency between the dynamics and requirements of our revolutionary process, the party apparatus was improved. Attention was paid to streamlining party activities in general and improving the structure of its central, provincial and municipal bodies.

As a result of these steps, the activities of the Central Committee, the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat became significantly more efficient. Nevertheless, shortcomings remain in the mechanisms of

interrelationships and dynamics of information on the different levels, including between central and provincial authorities and between provincial authorities and primary organizations.

A search is currently under way for solutions aimed at the gradual elimination of such shortcomings.

The party's vanguard role increased after the functioning of the leading bodies on the central and provincial levels was improved. That is why today we are particularly concerned with the fact that the party bodies and local primary organizations are still unable adequately to perform their leading role. This hinders the process of the party's leadership of society and the state.

That is why conditions for the elimination of such difficulties must be provided as quickly as possible, both by strengthening the party cells and by including in their plans for ideological, political and socioeconomic work specific problems related to the life of individual enterprises and organizations.

At the same time, in formulating our work plans, we must give priority to the main task as defined by the party's leadership at each specific moment. Secondary matters should be planned in such a way as not to hinder the implementation of the main task. Initiated projects must be completed and those who fail to implement their assignments or stop midway in their solution must be held strictly accountable.

The party, which is ascribing increasing importance to the elimination of theoretical errors, must develop in its members a taste for the study of Marxism-Leninism, in order to be able to interpret properly and profoundly the problems which face the country. It must always remember that wherever it has organizations, they are the bearers of proletarian ideology.

Every party member must actively participate in the life of his primary organization. Energizing the activities of party cells is the party's most important objective. In order for this to become reality, the primary party organizations themselves must enhance the level of their work and become effective bodies which discuss, analyze and help to resolve specific problems at enterprises, organizations, military units, etc.

Discipline and internal cohesion in party cells must be steadily strengthened, so that the plans can be strictly implemented. We must always remember that discipline is a structural component of a correct work style; discipline in the implementation of decisions and in obedience to the will of the majority and the superior authorities must be observed by every party member. Only thus will the cell be able to facilitate the work of raising its members in a spirit of modesty and intolerance of liberalism, individualism or bourgeois and petit bourgeois ways of thinking. The party's efficiency and militancy depend on the viability of the primary party organizations, for which reason I repeat that their activities must be energized.

We are concerned with another question as well: the situation of the party in the countryside.

The campaign of purging MPLA-Labor Party ranks ended without having fully carried out the task of reorganizing the party in accordance with established criteria governing party membership. It did not stipulate the recruitment of members in the rural areas. This was due to the small number of agricultural workers and the weakness of state agricultural enterprises, as well as the fact that the majority of peasants were not members of cooperatives or production associations.

The decline in the development of the cooperative movement, which had gathered sufficient strength by 1978, began the moment the cooperative management department was transferred from party to state administration. Clearly, the latter lacked the proper political conscientiousness needed to provide proper leadership in this important matter.

The poor peasants began to abandon the cooperatives, thus becoming objects of exploitation by middlemen (petty merchants and haulers) and prosperous farmers. The petite rural bourgeoisie began to grow whereas considerable harm was caused to strengthening the alliance between workers and peasants.

I am not referring to the worker-peasant alliance in its basic economic sense, when it is a question of the need to organize the exchange of industrial for agricultural commodities. I am speaking of the political alliance based on the struggle waged by these two classes against capitalist exploitation.

Almost all large foreign owners left the country, taking their capital with them, on the eve of our independence. Those who actually remained in the countryside were the poor peasants, engaged in primitive, essentially barter farming, who had nothing but their own manpower and the simplest labor tools. The countryside proved to be almost totally drained, which did not allow us immediately to organize these peasants with a view to strengthening and expanding socialist production relations and ensuring the full materialization of the worker-peasant alliance.

The experience of other countries indicates that socialism can win only when socialist production relations become dominant in town and country. If socialist production relations win in industry only, which is concentrated in the urban areas, the petite bourgeoisie and, subsequently, the bourgeoisie will seize the countryside. Therefore, the development of capitalist production relations would begin to threaten the future of our revolution.

I consider obvious the urgent need to strengthen the party's revolutionary activities in the rural areas. To this effect we must provide incentives for the enhancement of private or family farming, energizing the creation of production associations and cooperatives and, using the state mechanism, control and regulate private enterprise. We must set up mass peasant organizations and increase the number of primary party organizations in the countryside with a view to the systematic implementation of their leading role.

The new role which the Central Committee has assigned the political activists will be particularly important to the party in the countryside, for which reason it would be preferable to concentrate our efforts in that direction.

A party membership drive was proclaimed in June 1981, planned for December the same year. However, we were able to start with the enrollment of new members only in 1983. This time was used for preparing the primary party organizations. A number of them were nevertheless considered unprepared to resolve this important problem. During that period, a purge took place within the primary organizations; alien elements were expelled from the party along with those whose behavior clashed with the party's statutory principles. The acceptance of candidates for the party continued, while those unworthy of the title were expelled.

The small number of party members, compared with the country's total population, remains the basic organizational problem. It is for that reason that the party is still actually unrepresented in a number of key areas of national life.

Another problem is the fact that the size of the personnel in the party's apparatus is excessively high compared to the total membership. This problem was partially resolved with the party recruitment drive, and we hope that its results will have a positive and substantial influence on strengthening the ties between party and people and will intensify the party's leading role in the main areas of the national economy and culture.

It is clear that for ideological and political reasons the party cannot accept within its ranks the entire adult population of the country. What is important, however, is for the party to rally on a voluntary basis all progressive members of the working class, the peasantry and the revolutionary intelligentsia, who are displaying conscientiousness and activeness and the desire to dedicate their entire energy to building socialism.

By virtue of our specific historical conditions, including the poor development of production forces, low literacy, cultural backwardness, etc., our party accepted within its ranks many members who, although politically conscious and active, were still unable to study and master Marxist-Leninist theory and adequately realize the decisive role of the working class in the revolutionary process.

As a permanent element of his ties with the people, every party member must be able to explain the general party policy and position in the solution of domestic and foreign problems, in order to mobilize and direct the energy of the masses toward the solution of the common problems of the revolution.

The party has a cadre training and education system which combines ideological-political training with the enhancement of cultural standards and enables every manager and party member to acquire the necessary scientific and cultural grounding for the correct and intensive study of Marxism-Leninism.

The party has also developed a system of study circles in which the students study party documents and resolutions. Political training centers have been

set up for the ideological and political upbringing of the party members, the youth organizations and the mass organizations of working people.

Despite all efforts already made, the urgent need remains to improve the work of training circles with a view to further disseminating Marxist knowledge among party members. In order to achieve this, on the one hand, we must publish an intraparty information bulletin; on the other, we must set up an efficiently organized system for upgrading cultural standards and the steady study of party policies and Marxist-Leninist theory by cadre workers, so that they may accurately act and make decisions affecting increasingly difficult problems. Such training should not be left uncontrolled. In order to achieve the desired results, it must be methodical and systematized.

"Party unity," the accountability report submitted by the Central Committee to the First Extraordinary MPLA-Labor Party Congress (December 1980) points out, "is extremely necessary. It is achieved above all through unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and the strict observance of the party's program and bylaws."

The previous two congresses defined the ways of strengthening unity: public criticism and self-criticism, discipline mandatory for all, political daring in surmounting difficulties, exposing and correcting errors and dedicatedly implementing the directives of the congress and other leading party bodies.

At this nationwide conference, once again we raise the question of unity but on the basis of more profound and systematized positions. We are essentially discussing problems of ideological unity, authority and ties with the working people or, in other words, the various aspect of the two principles governing a party of a new type: firm ties between the party and the people's masses and the ideological and organizational unity of the party itself.

Taking into consideration objective and subjective factors, which have so far restricted the implementation of these principles, our party must direct its efforts to the solution of the following three basic problems:

1. It must see to it that every party member and manager and each party organization is aware of the people's problems and apply maximal efforts to resolve them. They must struggle to make party policy always responsive to the expectations of the toiling masses and consistent with the conditions and requirements governing the development of the country. Close ties with the people, with the working class and the peasantry, are, above all, the sources and guarantees of the party's strength and authority.

2. Strengthen internal unity, for which reason it must ensure a closer tie between ideological unity, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and organizational unity, based on the observance and implementation of the party's program and bylaws and party norms and principles, democratic centralism in particular, which are the very foundations for party organization and activities. It is only internal unity and discipline which can ensure the party's vanguard role and which are prerequisites for national unity and for the party's leading position in governmental and social life.

3. Efforts aimed at achieving the further unification of the broad popular masses by strengthening national unity must be continued as a prerequisite for our firmness and success in the struggle against imperialism and foreign aggression, for economic independence and for strengthening the people's regime and peace. Our party must continue tirelessly to struggle against tribalism and regional and racial prejudices.

In the light of these tasks, the party control commissions on all levels have taken a major qualitative step forward in organizational work and in the implementation of their statutory functions. They must continue firmly to promote the party's ideological purity by strengthening the discipline, unity, and cohesion within its ranks.

Insufficient knowledge of the various components of the complex socioeconomic system of the Angolan nation hinders our social management. That is why the Politburo resolved that groups of specialists would draw up a program for the study of the national problem, which would cover the ethnic, psychological, social, economic and historical aspects of life in our country, paying particular attention to the contemporary class structure and its ethnic features. Such a study would enable us to improve the degree of knowledge of our reality and to enrich the party and the state with methods for the scientific leadership of society.

We believe that the forthcoming congress will be able to make use of some of the results of such studies which, therefore, will become an important analytical tool in the hands of the party's leadership.

The level of consciousness reached by our people is the result of the political and socioeconomic changes and of the struggle and gains of our revolution. Such changes became possible thanks to the steadily enhanced ideological standard of the people's masses and their increasingly active involvement in building the new society.

The struggle for economic and social change, initiated under the guidance of the MPLA-Labor Party after we gained our independence, led to the gradual elimination of the old social relations inherited from colonialism. The ideology of the proletariat began to triumph on the basis of the new relations, thus creating objective conditions for the development of a higher level of consciousness.

However, the enemies of the Angolan revolution have not laid down their arms and, through a variety of means, ranging from armed aggression, strangulating economic and political measures and ideological subversion to playing with emotions and the use of other psychological factors, they are trying to influence the backward awareness of a substantial part of the working class and other groups of working people, and thus to achieve their obvious objectives--to suppress the people's democratic revolution and to create a neocolonialist state subordinated to imperialist interests.

The party must enhance the conscientiousness of the masses through clearly directed ideological work, in which the party propaganda system is given priority.

At this stage of the struggle, the party propaganda system must concentrate its efforts on the systematic mobilization of the masses and their ideological army for a decisive struggle against the ideological manifestations of the legacy of the colonial society.

The party's program and the basic tasks of the present stage are explained to the people through propaganda: defeating the armed counterrevolution, achieving national unity and victory for the national democratic revolution and building a socialist society.

The waging of effective propaganda also requires the study of the trends followed in the ideological subversions of the class enemy at each specific moment, domestically and abroad, and of the state of public opinion with a view to blocking the penetration of enemy propaganda.

The enemy is pursuing his subversive activities not exclusively through direct propaganda. He is using other methods as well, bourgeois culture in particular, such as music, literature and fashion, and is trying to manipulate religious feelings, etc.

For this reason, our ideological work must be closely related to specific reality, covering all areas of political, economic and social life. Every party leader, member or cadre worker must become an active propagandist of party policy and working class ideology and of the achievements of the people in building the new society.

The state and the mass social organizations of the working people are the main bodies which, together with the party, constitute the new system of political power in the country. The party leads the bodies of the new revolutionary authority so that they may promote in practice a specific economic, social and cultural policy.

The party's leading role is implemented through corresponding means and methods in such a way as to avoid any mixing or substitution of the functions of such authorities, for this is the only possible way to ensure the organized and effective management of the new society.

In this sense, the party properly defines the basic means and methods used in the implementation of its leading role regarding the state and the republic organizations. Equally accurate, however, is the fact that their implementation is not always simple, whether as a result of the weakness in the efforts of the party itself or the inefficiency of the state apparatus. Nevertheless, regardless of still-existing shortcomings, significant improvements have been achieved in coordinating the activities of party and state leadership bodies.

The improvements which we have made on the level of the central and local state bodies under the circumstances of a war imposed upon us enabled us to achieve a better coordination of political, military, economic and social activities. The creation of a defense and security council and local district military councils was the most important and significant new feature in the

organization of the state apparatus during this period. It enabled us to make relations between party and state more dynamic. The reorganization of the structure of the Council of Ministers enabled to define its functions more accurately and significantly to strengthen the executive role of this body. The implementation of emergency programs contributed to the more energetic participation of the party's leadership in resolving the specific problems facing our people.

Unquestionably, it is a matter of practicing new mutually acceptable relations and testing through practical experience the new mechanisms of relations between party and state which, even under the difficult circumstances remaining in the country, should not lead to any confusion in functions. In the opposite case the leading role of the party is lowered and the functional role of the state administrative bodies is weakened.

Despite the reciprocally supplementing nature and interconnection among the emergency programs, we have still not been able to eliminate the spirit of sectarianism and departmentalism in the state administrative bodies. This fact should force the competent party and state authorities to study measures to strengthen the executive possibilities of the state apparatus, particularly in the field of economics.

As to the local people's authorities, although a significant step forward has been taken in defining their functions, we have still not been able to achieve strict control over their activities and their efficient interaction with other state bodies.

During the past period, the realm of activities of the local state power bodies was refined in accordance with the stipulations of the First Extraordinary Party Congress. The authorities in the communes and municipalities should become more dynamic and able to display maximal local initiative.

We should also point out that in the period since the First Extraordinary Party Congress, a significant share of our state budget has been assigned to maintaining the state management bodies, although so far no significant improvement in their work has been noted. The increased number of state workers is not always paralleled by increased quality and efficiency in their work. Therefore, the respective party and state leadership bodies must make a close study and sum up the experience of state management bodies.

Despite certain improvements in the law enforcement system, some agencies are still violating the laws and showing lack of respect for the rights of the citizens. They are failing to display proper concern for the protection of the people's property and our homeland's national resources. In this connection, the competent party and state bodies must study the question of developing a more efficient mechanism for controlling the observance of law and order in the country.

It can be noted that in recent years extensive work has been done to develop party organizations in the defense and state security forces. During that time, tireless attention was paid to political education work with military

personnel and to the cultural upbringing, technical training and ideological preparedness of the leading cadres in such bodies.

It is very important for the command personnel in all districts and military units to set the example of upgrading ideological-political and vocational standards. At the same time, greater efforts must be made to eliminate existing shortcomings.

The people's vigilance brigades, a mass organization which has existed for slightly over 1 year, have comprehensively proven themselves as an organization always prepared to defend revolutionary gains. This organization was formed with party support. The mass nature of working people's movements demands the immediate creation of organizations to interact with the respective bodies of the Ministry of Defense, State Security and Internal Affairs, on the basis of revolutionary vigilance, and to provide them party help in their organization and the ideological upbringing and enhancement of the moral-combat and political standards of cadres.

The economic situation in the country has worsened of late for a number of adverse external and internal reasons. The tasks earmarked in the "Basic Directions in Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985" cannot be fulfilled by the majority of economic sectors. The main reason for this is the continuing war imposed upon us by imperialism. It is systematically absorbing huge financial, material and human resources. However, it is not alone in causing difficulties in the national economy.

Other external factors are present as well. However, I believe it would be just to admit that the nonfulfillment of said tasks is also explained by their unrealistic nature. This was the consequence of excessive optimism and the lack of experience in defining our prospects.

If we add to all of this the grave shortage of technical cadres, particularly executive and managerial on the middle level, the worsened conditions of international trade and, particularly, the drop of prices fetched by our main export items on the world capitalist market, insufficient control provided by our economic management bodies, etc., we would understand the entire set of reasons for this difficult economic situation.

Therefore, it would be improper to consider that the possibility of resolving urgent economic problems depends exclusively on whether a war is being waged or not. In other words, it would be unreasonable to wait for the war to end in order to resolve such problems or, at least, for significantly reducing the already apparent difficulties and shortcomings in our economy.

The central leading authorities share a great deal of responsibility for the poor work of our national economy and, specifically, the nonfulfillment of the national plan. Thus, instead of the most experienced specialists to engage in supervising the local state of affairs, although such work involves inconveniences, we note the direct opposite: the lack of desire among many such specialists to study the actual circumstances for which they are responsible.

It would be proper for this national conference to be followed by mounting of an extensive campaign for the dissemination and discussion of its basic documents, so that the entire society, the party members above all, may become aware of the accuracy of the planned measures and the need for profound changes in economic management and enterprise activity methods.

Unquestionably, under these circumstances the party must improve its work in order to ensure the full and efficient implementation of its leading role.

The revolution demands action rather than simply consideration. We do not need criticism by one and all without constructive suggestions and corresponding actions. Many of those who engage in petty criticism and complaints do little work themselves or in general pursue an idle way of life. Every specialist, technician and worker must efficiently carry out his assignments today at his job, in accordance with his knowledge and experience, so that our people may have a better life tomorrow.

The work of the national leading and technical cadres must be assessed properly: on the one hand, they must be encouraged for their contributions; on the other, they must be held accountable for lack of discipline. Unfortunately, no proper attention is being paid to these aspects in practical work. Incentives must be used more extensively and those who fail to fulfill their obligations and instructions from their superiors or violate stipulated work rules should be punished.

Approximately 63 percent of the openings for specialists with higher and secondary specialized training are being filled, despite the good results in cadre training achieved in 1984. This figure not only reflects the difficult situation which prevails in the training of national cadres experienced by the country, but also leads us to conclude that urgent measures must be taken and the plans for economic development must assign suitable priority to training cadres. The need for training a national skilled manpower must be taken into consideration as a basic element in the formulation of any project. At the same time, the already available cadres must be fully utilized, taken care of and properly distributed. A better understanding and a coordinated solution of the double task of cadre training and production work must be achieved. Cases of insufficiently efficient utilization of cadres are quite alarming and require the use of disciplinary measures among job-placing authorities and the specialists themselves.

The party and the bodies engaged with the allocation of labor resources must provide proper control on all levels in this important economic and cultural construction sector.

Socialism, which we are passionately trying to build, will be the work of our own hands and the result of the stubborn efforts and resolve of millions of our citizens. Socialism is built by the toiling masses themselves under the party's guidance. That is why the party focuses its attention on man as the leading component of the production forces which determine our economic and social development. The party's main task in this respect is the molding of the new man and his political, ideological, moral and civic upbringing and

professional and technical training, so that he can make a great contribution to the revolution and participate in resolving the country's problems.

Greater attention should be paid to national cadre policy, a policy which formulates particular requirements concerning cadre selection, training, placement, promotion and transfer and the creation of a cadre reserve.

Naturally, under our circumstances cadre upbringing and management is a difficult problem. The study of these circumstances demands knowledge and a perfect understanding of our revolutionary process and, consequently, the class struggle in which we are involved.

It is necessary for our cadres to master scientific and technical knowledge and perfect it steadily. This is one of the main prerequisites for progress toward socialism. The violation of this condition could seriously slow down the constructive process taking place in the country. Our country would be able to achieve the type of economic and political changes consistent with the current stage in the way to socialism only with the help of technically trained cadres armed with the proletarian ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

Special attention should be paid to the deployment of cadres in accordance with current requirements. All positions must be held by specialists with the best abilities and possibilities of implementing specific obligations. We must see to it that, to the extent to which this is possible, every specialist holds a suitable job, taking into consideration the features and quality of labor and waging an effective struggle against those who hinder his work.

We must emphasize that the level of education, although it is a very important prerequisite, is not the only criterion of the qualities which a specialist must have for successful participation in resolving the vital problems of our country; we must mandatorily add to this circumstance honesty, readiness for self-dedication, ability to work specifically for the implementation of party and government decisions and selfless service to the interests of the working class and the peasantry.

Cadre selection and placement must be gradually perfected in order to reach the required standards and become scientifically substantiated. In this respect the systematic certification of cadres is one of the most important trends in the activities of party, youth, state and public organizations, which must ensure the strengthening of leading bodies and improve the quality of their work.

We must realize the need for the continuing training of cadres, taking into consideration the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. Along with the study of various subjects, they must master the Marxist theory of social management and scientific methods for the development of the economy of a socialist country.

The party is holding its first nationwide conference at the start of the year one of the characteristic features of which will be the most extensive and profound discussion of the problems which face us, with a view to submitting

to the congress stipulations and more realistic and effective steps aimed at ensuring the accelerated progress of our people toward socialism.

In the course of almost 10 years of independent development we have already acquired sufficient knowledge and experience properly to assess our successes and errors and, on this basis, find reliable ways to correct them.

All party members present here must take sincere and active part in the discussion of our problems and dedicate all forces and knowledge to their resolution.

The Angolan people are convinced that, loyal to its noble patriotic and revolutionary traditions, our party will once again rise to the height of the situation in this important historical moment experienced by the country. It will indicate the way which will lead the entire Angolan people to a society of socialist well-being. The struggle goes on! Victory is inevitable!

#### FOOTNOTE

1. The First MPLA Congress, which was held in December 1977, passed a resolution on reorganizing the movement into the vanguard party of the working class, rallying workers, peasants and the revolutionary intelligentsia within a firm alliance--editor.

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## WHO FEARS THE TRUTH?

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85) pp 99-109

[Article by Savva Dangulov, editor in chief of the journal SOVETSKAYA LITERATURA, writer. Notes of a reader of history books]

[Text] Before the reader has started to read my "notes," I would like to address him with a few words. I am not a military specialist or, even less so, a military historian. I am merely a writer, who wrote on the history of the past war on the basis of the specific events he witnessed. These "notes" are the result of such eyewitnessing and of the thoughts of a person for whom the war was by no means an abstract concept, and who came across it once again in works by foreign historians. All that the "notes" reflect is, to a certain extent, the result of the work of a person who can compare what he saw in the past with what he is reading now.

1

I was not the first person to show up in Genova and to visit the San Giorgio Palace. I stood in the semidarkness of the conference room and tried to resurrect in my memory a photograph which I had held frequently in my hand: delegations from different countries seated around the table, our own somewhat right of center. Chicherin is speaking from his seat.... Yes, I had in mind that same speech delivered by Georgiy Vasil'yevich in which he anticipated the creation of an alliance of countries which would subsequently fight fascism. These were strong words: "allied countries." According to Vladimir Dal', "to be allies" means to stand "together, not to split." Dal' says nothing in his definitions of what an alliance is and what allied countries are when it comes to trust. However, by "being allied" he, naturally, presumed the existence of omnipotent "trust."

Now, enveloped by the darkness of San Giorgio Palace, I resurrected in my memory the past war, repeating the word "trust, trust...." The mind, turned back to the war, was extracting from its depths one event after another. I suddenly recalled the familiar event of the capture by our troops of the launching mechanism of the V rocket, yes, the same V rockets which the enemy used to strike at London from the air (six strikes daily, some with a destructive power unmatched by any bomb). Directly related to this fact was Stalin's cable to Churchill suggesting that he send military personnel to look

over the V rocket system captured by our army. If this cable has a name, should this name not be trust? Here is another event from the war, no less memorable: a request for help coming from the Ardennes, sent by the allied forces in trouble and the immediate answer by our headquarters pledging to begin the offensive much earlier than initially planned, the main purpose of which was to help the Western ally. Was this step taken by the fighting land of the soviets not an expression of trust? Here is yet another event: a fact of unprecedented significance even in relations among allied countries: the pledge taken by the Soviet side to redeploy its forces in the east and to attack the Japanese aggressor, a pledge which was carried out with enviable precision. What is this if not a specific manifestation of trust among allies? Was this not confirmed by the entire course of the war, when our country assumed the main burden of the struggle against the strong enemy and took it to its doom? Was it not trust embodied in the great victories of the Red Army which Roosevelt discussed 4 months before victory: "We cannot forget the heroic defense of Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad and the gigantic scope of Russian offensive operations in 1943-1944, as a result of which huge German armies were destroyed?"

Roosevelt's conclusions were based on a sober assessment of events witnessed by many of the president's compatriots.

Izdatel'stvo Progress is currently engaged in the publication of a thick volume of testimony by foreign correspondents on the activities of the Red Army, including a large number of writers and journalists. There is no reason to question their statements. Everything they write was witnessed by them personally. This is a thorough publication, encompassing a broad range of events which occurred during different periods of the war and at different fronts. I had the occasion to accompany foreign journalists in many of their trips to the front. These trips alone offered the correspondents a sufficiently extensive opportunity to witness events which took place along the Soviet-German front: blockaded Leningrad, Korsun-Shevchenko, Uman, the Karelian Isthmus, Sevastopol, Odessa, Yash and, before then, Kharkov, Smolensk and the centers where the fraternal Polish and Czechoslovak armies were formed.

What enhances the value of such testimony is that the correspondent corps, accredited to our country at that time, consisted of journalists of world fame: R. Parker (NEW YORK TIMES), E. Winter (NEW YORK POST), J. Davis (TORONTO STAR), R. Lauterbach (TIME and LIFE), S. Sultzberger (NEW YORK TIMES) and H. Cassidy (Associated Press). Some of those who had the opportunity to see the broad canvas of the combats on the battlefields included first-rate writers, such as Erskine Caldwell and John Hersey. Documentary publications which depicted the peoples fighting the fascist evil and obscurantism included books written by Moscow correspondents as well. The book by R. Lauterbach, "These Are the Russians," which John Hersey described as the best work on the war in Russia--a book which went through eight printings--was a real literary phenomenon of its kind.

Despite the variety of individuals in the corps of correspondents, antifascism was the idea which brought many foreign journalists to our capital and determined their sympathy for their Soviet allies. During those years, some

of the correspondents held views on matters, such as the second front, which were noteworthy for their evasiveness. There was one problem, however, on which I realized the foreign correspondents were unanimous: their assessment of the Soviet contribution to the victory of the allies, its decisive contribution. How could this be doubted after what the representatives of the foreign press had witnessed at the fronts, for to assert anything else meant to put oneself in a very delicate position in the eyes of one's colleagues.

If at that time anyone would have said that only 3 years later there would be people in the allied camp who would question a truth which had become obvious to all, the idea would have seemed incredible. Yet the incredible became a fact. It must be some kind of a secret: how is it that in bright daylight, in the eyes of all honest people, a truth which had been unquestionable to all has been revised to such an extent as to lead to the creation of a new version of the war. Its fabrication required a special creative apparatus which was created by army staffs, at state institutions and large philanthropic centers. The anti-Soviet nature of such newly hatched institutions could not be concealed by names such as "Russian Research Center" at Harvard, "Russian Institute" at Columbia University, etc. Among the flood of books on the history of the war, popular editions in particular, a high percentage were aimed at young people--so that the seed of lies may be planted on virgin soil. The ideological foundation of such publications was revanchism. Here again American and West German authors found a common language.

In order to revise the history of the war witnessed by mankind a system of truths was necessary, both substantive and, in its way, streamlined. What was usually referred to as the new concept of the war, however, was born not without substantial hitches. The reason for such hitches was obvious: anything built on a lie ends infamously.

2

Virtually the most popular thesis of American historians is that the United States was the arsenal of victory. This means that American arms supplies had helped to create a new ratio of forces and predetermined the victory. E. Zimke, author of the historical work "From Stalingrad to Berlin," is not so blunt but the essence of his conclusions remains the same: the Soviet forces won with their domestically manufactured weapons to the same extent as with American weapons, obtained on a lend-lease basis. Was it to the same extent? Following is data quite well familiar on either side of the ocean: they are universally known but worth repeating: during the war the USSR produced nearly 500,000 artillery guns but received from the United States and Great Britain 9,600; it manufactured more than 100,000 tanks and self-propelling artillery guns and received from the allies less than 12,000--we have rounded the figures for simplicity without, naturally, twisting them. The reader can see a striking correlation which would prove to be even more striking if we consider the quality of the weapons. Unfortunately, the quality of American Studebakers did not apply to the tanks shipped from overseas. Their combat qualities were low. Furthermore, as we know, our tanks were rated quite highly even by the enemy. "...In November 1941, noted designers, industrialists and officers from the Armaments Administration came to my tank army to study the Russian T-34 tank, which was superior to our own," General

Guderian testifies. "They wanted to see for themselves and, on the basis of practical experience in combat, earmark steps which would help us to regain technical superiority over the Russians." The suggestions of front-line officers to manufacture tanks which would be the exact duplicate of the T-34, in order to correct the exceptionally unfavorable situation in the German armored forces within the shortest possible time met with no support whatsoever among designers. As Guderian notes, this was due not to any false arrogance on the part of the German engineers but the fact that German industry lacked at that time the type of metal needed for the manufacturing of such tanks.

Arsenal of victory? Does this not sound excessively loud and self-sufficient? To describe American aid to the USSR as the arsenal for victory means, mildly speaking, to confuse facts and lose all sense of moderation.

3

The works by Western historians on the war deal extensively with the strategic skills displayed by the Soviet army and, in this connection, the nature of our military commanders. To question the Soviet military commanders is not so simple, for virtually all of them were responsible for major operations in the war. Combining everything which has been written by Western authors during the war concerning the martial skills of Zhukov, Vasilevskiy, Konev, Rokossovskiy, Tolbukhin, Malinovskiy, Bagramyan and Meretskov would take a many of volumes. Naturally, after everything which had been said about the Soviet military commanders, voicing negative views would be risky. That is why halfway assessments are put in circulation, based on the principle of "yes, but...."

Such precisely are the arguments brought forth by A. Clark, the British military historian, who said on the subject of Soviet military commanders that "the Russian offensive in the winter of 1941 remains one of the most outstanding accomplishments in military history. However, its drama should not conceal the lack of talent displayed by the Soviet command."

Let us point out, however, that talent, the talent of a military commander even more so, is not an abstract phenomenon. We have the right to and must judge such a talent without abstracting ourselves from the operations conducted by the military commander. Let us explain this thought in popular terms, so that Clark himself may understand it. As we know, as a result of the Moscow operation mentioned by the British historian, Hitler replaced 35 division commanders. They had been beaten and it can be assumed with full justification that the Almighty had not granted them any talent. But why is it necessary to deprive the Soviet military commanders of this quality, commanders who had proved in the battles for Moscow their superiority over the German generals? That is what we find difficult to understand!

It cannot be said that Clark's opinion on the strategic skills of the Soviet forces predominated in the West. There were sharp objections to it. British historian M. MacIntosh pointed that the battle for Kursk proved the ability of the Red Army Supreme Command to control huge masses of troops in a battle of strategic significance.

It would also make sense to go back to Stalingrad, emphasizing in particular that the crushing defeat suffered by the German forces there had been inflicted long before a second front had been opened. This proves a great deal. It was precisely in connection with the Battle for Stalingrad that military historians have addressed themselves to summations relative to the broad problems of the war. In his book "March on Stalingrad," Hans Doerr wrote: "...Stalingrad was the turning point of World War II. To Germany, the Battle for Stalingrad was a most severe defeat in German history; to Russia it was its greatest victory." Mannstein who, as we know, was summoned by Hitler to breach the encirclement of the Stalingrad group of forces, repeats Doerr's formula, stipulating that "naturally, Stalingrad became the turning point in the history of World War II, for it was on the Volga that the crest of the German offensive was broken, subsequently drawing back like the surf. However hard the loss of the 6th Army may have been, however, this did not as yet mean that the war in the East had been lost...."

Is it not clear that the right to judge our strategic way of thinking is granted only to a military commander whose creative thinking has been able to create something more perfect than Stalingrad, something which did not occur during the last war? Turning to the essence of Stalingrad as a creation--no other word is possible--of the commanding genius of the people, we should say that in this case intellect was combined with daring and complexity of thought with precise implementation.

Those who have had the possibility of looking at the Stalingrad operation from the steppes of the Don, at the very moment when the concept of the command developed into a strategic plan (a second ring around the city which would totally exclude any breach, and a move to the west from Kantemirovka to Rossosh, which predetermined the liberation of Voronezh) and provided a definite advantage, would be amazed by the precision in the operations of masses of tanks and their closely computed interaction with the air force which, at that time, was gaining increasing superiority in the air. It is clear that this was a moment in the war when strategic thinking could interact with our technical power, which had attained incredible heights. The unanimity with which the generals in the captured army noted this feature in the battle fought on the steppes of the Don was, I recall, unprecedented. The only meaning of the whole operation they could see was failure....

4

But here is something curious: whenever the prestige of a Soviet military commander is denigrated, that of the German strategist is praised, even when he has clashed with an American, British or French military commander. He is awarded the laurels of championship. Is the game worth the candle? Yes. Is it not clear that this is being done in order to put on a pedestal not only the defeated Hitlerite commander but also the Wehrmacht, the contemporary Wehrmacht which has all of a sudden become so valuable to the West. Actually, the moment German strategy is discussed it becomes the subject of unrestrained praise. Frequently the German strategist is granted the right of supreme judge, who can assess the operations of the last war and dares to judge and rate those to whom mankind owes its salvation from the "brown plague."

This phenomenon is worth considering.

The most noted in the parade of Hitlerite generals promoted by the West today are Mannstein and Guderian whose thick volumes of memoirs have been published in large editions in the capitalist countries.

There is no avoiding it: both names are linked forever with innumerable events of the past war. Guderian with the battle for Moscow and Mannstein with that for Stalingrad and Korsun-Shevchenko. As far as the battle for Moscow is concerned, the outcome of the tanks hurled at the Soviet capital ended for the Hitlerites with a defeat which even the German high command could not conceal: Guderian was replaced. At the same time, Mannstein, who had developed in the Wehrmacht the reputation of a specialist in pulling out encircled German troops, was given the opportunity to display his skill twice: at Kotelnikovo, not far from Stalingrad, and Shenderovka, not far from Korsun. On both occasions he failed. Therefore, the list of German strategists has become so heavily compromised that few reasons for celebration are left. It is true that both commanders explain their failures with Hitler's incompetent interference. However, military writings prove that this is not the only reason for their defeats.

As to Guderian, the reasons for the failure of his tank strategy should not be sought in Hitler in the least but in the fact that in his own concept of throwing into battle a mass of armor he failed to consider, as Marshal Yeremenko pointed out, important details, such as consolidating the success. The tank columns which rushed ahead "were left hanging," which made their position difficult. Mannstein's effort to relieve the surrounded forces was explained with the fact that he did not take into consideration the "second ring," a system which was repeated twice: within the Korsuni "ring" and outside the Stalingrad "ring."

Even if we assume that both failures are to be blamed on Hitler, does this make Guderian and Mannstein any less guilty? This, however, is not the only blame that the German strategists ascribe to their Fuehrer.

According to Mannstein, in the battles to relieve the surrounded troops at Stalingrad the Group of Armies Don had gained advantages which could have radically changed the course of the military campaign of 1943 and that it was only as a result of Hitler's fatal error of postponing the beginning of the withdrawal that these advantages were lost.... We should also point out that similar arguments and virtually the same expressions are used by Guderian in justifying the failure of the march on Moscow. The impression is created that this formula was so well accepted that the German strategists did not even bother to invent a new one.

Clearly, the flood of praise of Hitlerite military commanders inspired them to such an extent as to be unsatisfied with the role of military soothsayers generously dispersing unappealable maxims. They laid a serious claim to the assumption of apostolic duties: all of a sudden, military tirades in their books became interspersed with moral ones. Ratings of the quality of tank armor was combined with evangelical maxims.

However unexpected such considerations expressed in the books by German strategists may seem, their purpose is clear: if you have been assigned an almost apostolic role you may be able to explain the human side of your mission in the Wehrmacht and its morality and conscience, assuming, however, that such virtues are present.

But let us consider Mannstein. Essentially, by assigning him the task of pulling out the surrounded troops, the German command had entrusted him with the lives of those encircled in the "cauldron," where time was measured not in days but in hours and, as confirmed by official figures, where by rejecting the ultimatum to surrender and resuming military operations the Hitlerites doomed to a hungry death thousands of their own people. In the final 8 days preceding the capitulation, more than 100,000 German soldiers died for that reason. Mannstein was directly involved with the rejection of the ultimatum issued by the Soviet command and the resumption of military operations and he too must be held responsible for the death of the 100,000.

But perhaps, being outside the encirclement, Mannstein could not imagine the scale of the tragedy? His book has the answer to the question: he knew what was taking place at that time in the "cauldron." As military operations to relieve the troops went on, he repeatedly asked himself if he should fly to the lines of the surrounded forces or not. He decided against it.... What could one say? If he was aware of the danger, this means that he did not have any great faith in the relief. Nevertheless, he behaved as though he did and thus doomed thousands of people to death....

It is not without a feeling of shame that Mannstein expatiates about his hesitations about flying into the "cauldron." However, he shows no inclination to analyze the circumstances of his own guilt in connection with the Stalingrad tragedy. Otherwise he would not have repeated his action in Kursoni, where he assumed command of the troops which were trying to relieve the encircled forces and essentially predetermined the resumption of military operations, thus causing casualties which could have been avoided. The reason I speak of this with such confidence is that I was in Kursoni and saw the mounds of corpses on the battlefield.... Everything discussed here is of basic significance also because it provides an idea of the moral qualities of this military commander of Hitler's army, who is treated today by Western historians almost as a supreme arbiter.

Incidentally, the memoirs of Guderian, Mannstein's colleague, trace the moral aspect of the character of a Hitlerite military commander no less closely. Here the following judgment may be found: "I personally am opposed to any killing. In this respect our Christian religion is clear." The following question would be quite pertinent: what is the attitude of the God-loving soul of that same Guderian and his colleagues in the Wehrmacht's high command concerning Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Majdanek and with what kind of eyes did the general look at a Hitlerite atrocity such as murder?... Actually, it cannot be accepted that that same Guderian, following the roads of war, was unaware of the fact that after the iron columns which he sends to the east, vandalism was marching on the Soviet fields, the scale of which mankind's history had never known. The question is by no means rhetorical: where, when

and under what circumstances did this God-fearing Guderian raise his voice against such vandalism? Could it be that he was unaware of the fact that the Wehrmacht was equipped with death chambers, even after the Kharkov trial of the Hitlerite executioners had spread this news throughout the world and triggered an angry response in the hearts of millions of people?

5

The landing of the allied forces in Normandy is contrasted with Stalingrad and Kursoni in the works of Western researchers. The comparison is not made in terms of the scale and complexity of the operations or their importance to the outcome of the war. According to A. Taylor, the British military historian, the Normandy landing was "the peak of waging scientific and civilized warfare," whereas on the Soviet-German front it was a war of attrition. "Millions of people were involved and millions perished," Taylor claims. Is this not a sacrilegious tirade which reflects, if anything, hatred of fighting Russia, its holies and its victims?

Five years ago I visited the Atlantic coast from Le Havre to Cherbourg. I am not on the side of those who consider the Hitlerite Atlantic wall a string of windmills. I am not discussing Churchill or Eisenhower but the people who landed on those beaches and who, one one would think, are remembered. I saw the German fortifications, the craters made by exploding bombs and destroyed coastal artillery guns.... I also saw endless graves, like little hills which, in a way, reflected the line of fortifications. I recall visiting cemeteries in the shade of the huge trees which have grown since then and I heard the voice of a woman rising alone over the cemetery--in all likelihood a mother who had crossed the ocean to kneel at her son's grave....

Once again I thought, the hell with Churchill and Eisenhower when we are speaking of the soldiers of the anti-Hitlerite army, the soldiers of freedom!... Who does not honor their memory? But why is such honor denied those who lost their lives on the fields of Russia? Let me explain: whenever the coastal road took me to a memorial describing the history of the landing I could not ignore a phenomenon which, I admit, explained a great deal. What am I talking about? During my trip along the Atlantic Coast I saw hundreds of photographs and kilometers of film. I studied the files of the Normandy epic and sadly noted that any direct or indirect mention of the military exploit of the Soviet armed forces had been burned, pulled out or destroyed. Not a single name or event were mentioned.... Indeed, even the gods are helpless in the face of stupidity.... Was someone hoping to destroy the memory of the people of the recent past through such primitive means?

I will never forget that in the last year of his life, Roman Karmen invited me one night to see the film "The Unknown War" (shown on our screens as "The Great Patriotic War"), that same series which narrates our contacts with the Allies. The film was still in the works but the series was completed.

"Yes, it is to spite those who pretend that we did not exist, who would like our victories and sacrifices to be forgotten, that we decided to name this film "The Unknown War." Naturally, there is irony in this title, infinite irony, and those who should perceive it will...." I remember Karmen's eyes,

burning in the semi-darkness of the screening room, as though lit from inside. "To rise above all this means to be more intelligent which, in turn, means that one must speak of one's allies with the same tactfulness and dignity that both of us would use in speaking of the war. Both of us...."

This was what Roman Karmen told me that night and this is what I remember. Unfortunately, however, there are forces in the West which are still trying to pretend that we are not on the map. Actually, circumstances arise in which the eye becomes glued to a magnifying lens and the invisible becomes quite visible. Suddenly the blind can see and detect something previously invisible. Suddenly an understanding is achieved that there was a Red Army in the world, that it fought the common enemy who had somehow managed to enter Russian soil and had found himself many thousands of kilometers away from home.... What can one say other than, marvelous! But when does such a marvel appear? Only when it becomes necessary to prove that the USSR did not return all prisoners of war. The study which is being conducted here with extreme care leads to the unexpected conclusion that, apparently, after all there was a war in the east.

The problem of the prisoners of war is exceptionally complex and to a great extent tragic. We know how many years Frithof Mansen, the high commissioner of the League of Nations for prisoners of war, dedicated to resolving this problem. Some time ago I had the opportunity to visit Oslo and had a long talk with the scientist's son Odd Mansen. Recalling his father, he said: "Human nature is such that it can accept anything but the death of someone close. My father worked on this problem years and years: letters came from what seemed like all parts of the earth with the sole request: 'Give us back our breadwinner!' Father tried to explain that war is conducted on an endless scale and that its turns are unpredictable. The only argument he could not answer was the demand to bring back a person. This was not something he could always accomplish."

Odd Mansen was speaking of World War I which, in terms of scale and power of weaponry, could not even be compared to the next war. Were there in World War I battles similar to that of Moscow or Stalingrad? Those who witnessed the number of prisoners of war which our army had to deal with on the Don, for example, would understand the difficulty, the great difficulty of this problem.

The scale of events of something like Stalingrad cannot be encompassed in physical terms. I saw the march of prisoners on the steppes of the Don, first the Italian army which surrendered, followed by the Romanian and the Hungarian. Our eyes were too weak to encompass all of this. One could watch the white steppe and the infinite human river and not see the end of the column of prisoners. To control this entire mass of people and feed it was made even more difficult by the fact that the main task remained that of fighting the enemy. Our troops, supply personnel and medics displayed a type of human generosity and vision under such most difficult circumstances never before offered to the army of an aggressor. According to Otto Korfes, "dysentery and typhoid fever raged in the 'cauldron.' Tens of thousands of people became infected.... Many of them died despite the heroic efforts of the Soviet medical personnel. The casualties also included two Soviet

physicians and 14 nurses." Theology Professor Holwitzer, from Bonn, who witnessed the events on the Eastern Front, adds that the dedication of the Soviet medical personnel forced "the prisoners of war to look at the Soviets with different eyes."

6

Guderian, who recounts in his memoirs his meeting with Hitler on the eve of the attack on the USSR, notes that the lengthy explanation which the Fuehrer gave in an effort to justify why Germany was forced to attack Russia, sounded unconvincing. His speech, according to Guderian, "was as unable to justify such an important decision as the ideological foundations of the national socialist doctrine." If even Hitler was unable to explain the reasons for war with the Soviet Union, his satellites found it even more difficult to do so. There is an opinion according to which their participation in the war against the USSR, particularly after Stalingrad, was passive. Thus, the Finns, who took part in the blockade of Leningrad, said that after a certain point their artillery attacks on the fortress on the Neva were of a symbolic nature. It is true that during the flight into blockaded Leningrad which I made together with A. Vert, author of the book "Russia at War 1941-1945," we visited parts of the city adjacent to the Finnish positions and can confirm that the enemy's activities particularly at that point were lesser than at the other sectors at the front.

Vert does not deny this in his book, acknowledging that Finland participated in the shelling of the city, although on a limited scale. Essentially, however, he does not touch upon the main question which was essential in explaining the position of the Ruti-Mannerheim position during the war: Finland did participate in the blockade of Leningrad. This, as the reader can understand, is something which should be called by its proper name. It is hard to understand why this author of a very truthful book about fighting Russia has circumvented this problem.

The story of the ambassadorial mission of A. M. Kollontay in Sweden--I am referring to the war period in Aleksandra Mikhaylovna's life--offers a great deal of explanation in clarifying the positions which the European North held during the war and its relations with the USSR. We know that Kollontay, as ambassador, had the amazing quality of being able to become friendly with the ordinary citizens of any country to which she was assigned to represent the Soviet fatherland. She made friends with dozens of such families in Sweden. It was with the help of her friends that I drew up a list and went from one home to another. In frequent cases, as a result of the visit I would be given a letter written by Aleksandra Mikhaylovna to that family and I brought home 300 of her letters. All of them were imbued with ideas pertaining to the USSR and Northern Europe and the statehood of the European North, its history, present and future.... Precisely in accordance with the purpose of her activities, A. M. Kollontay was encouraging the strengthening of Swedish neutrality during the war and the withdrawal of Finland from the war and influencing postwar relations between Sweden and, particularly, Finland and the USSR, based on the cornerstone of good neighborliness.

As indicated by the vast number of wartime publications, war has many aspects and looks at us with many different sets of eyes. However hard we may try to encompass mentally all of its aspects, invariably something will remain beyond our capacity to see. It would be sensible, therefore, to concentrate on what may be its main feature. What do we believe to be the main feature? I am confident that the answer would not surprise the reader: the main thing is the will and ability to surmount differences. This problem has not lost its relevance even 40 years after the victory, for today it is no less topical than in May of 1945. It is said that those who look at things through the eyeglasses of suspicion would see worms even in pickled cabbage.... Naturally, however, history is full of examples of the way in which suspicion has twisted the views of politicians. Nevertheless, the elimination of any suspicion has always offered good prospects.

In discussing relations among allies, British historian L. Woodworth writes that "a shared political objective existed: to defeat the enemy in the war; in no case, however, was the concept of 'victory' unanimous. It had one meaning for the United States, another for England...and yet another for Russia." It would be difficult to object to this. However, we should not forget that differences, if left to develop uncontrolled, can infect relations among countries with the bacillus of hopelessness. That is precisely why it makes sense to control differences for the sake of the common objective which, we should assume, should be priceless, for it is the equivalent of the prospect of peace. And how not to recall the experience of Roosevelt. I dare to think that what the president was able to accomplish illumined the path of American politics for many years to come. "President Roosevelt and I looked at Russia the same way," Cordell Hull emphasized. "Both of us realized that the path of our relations will not be strewn with roses. However, we also believed in the possibility of cooperating with Russia. To the best of my recollection, no differences existed between us on the main problem of what we could and should agree on with the Soviet government."

The policy of the Soviet Union? Naturally, the Soviet government did not nurture illusions. It obviously realized that it was dealing with the most powerful country in the capitalist world, whose main purpose was to defend the interests of capitalism. However, this did not weaken its efforts to find a common language with the United States or interrupt the dialogue. The most difficult problem both then and today has been that of the liberation struggle and the gain or restoration of sovereign rights. It is precisely in the solution of such problems and the ability to grant to the peoples themselves the right to decide their own future that the class nature of either side could be crystal clear. To give Roosevelt his due, his views on this problem were strikingly different from those of Churchill. Unwilling to spoil his reputation, the American president shared in this case some functions with the British prime minister. The latter acted with enviable persistence and his energy was directly proportional to the distance which separated a given country from the USSR. The closer to the USSR the country under discussion was, the more unyielding Churchill became, for the idea of a new "cordon sanitaire" gripped old Winnie.

As far as the governmental interests of the USSR were concerned, our country had reduced its own requirements to a minimum, and so had the Americans. "If the postwar influence," American historian R. Levering wrote, "had been even slightly consistent with the casualties...unquestionably, the Russians did not obtain their just reward in peacetime for their wartime sacrifices."

Roosevelt, for whom the most important problem in this last year of his life was to maintain good relations with his Soviet ally, particularly on problems such as Poland, was convinced that a split could be prevented. "I am fully resolved to prevent a split between us and the Soviet Union," he wrote. "There must be a way to reconcile our differences."

8

There is a view according to which in his statements on the eve of his death Roosevelt was inclined to believe that relations with the USSR call for a "firm hand." Obviously, the purpose of this viewpoint is to question the established view that the leitmotif of the policy of the U.S. president toward his great ally consisted of good will, tolerance and ability to resolve disputes on the basis of mutual respect. American historian W. Campbell decided to clarify this problem. His studies proved that the last document signed by Roosevelt himself was a message addressed to the British prime minister, dated 11 April 1945--the day before he died. Its essential meaning is that usually it has been possible to settle problems in relations with the Soviet Union and that such problems should not be exaggerated.

Virtually the only living associate of President Roosevelt from war times is H. Wallace, who was vice president from 1941 to 1945; his view of the world situation included realism, simplicity and foresight. Wallace's views, which were expressed many years ago, are still striking with their maturity and depth.

Addressing himself to two opinions relative to U.S.-Soviet relations, Wallace pointed out that "the first is reduced to the fact that coexistence with the Russians is impossible, for which reason war is inevitable. The second is that war with Russia would mean catastrophe for all mankind, for which reason we must find a way to live in peace.... The ideological conflict will exist forever. However, this should not be an obstacle to prevent diplomats from laying the foundations for peaceful coexistence between the two systems.... Like all other nations, our nation must become convinced that a new war is not inevitable.... And we, who consider discussions about war with the Soviet Union criminal stupidity, must appeal directly to the people even at the risk of being accused of being communists for what we would dare to say."

It would be wrong to believe that the principles which Wallace proclaimed in his time have been forgotten. Their viability is so striking that occasionally they are supported even by those who could hardly be suspected of having any sympathy for us.

"We believe that, like the United States, the Soviet Union would like to ease the burden of modern armaments. We equally believe that the Soviet Union does

not wish for war under the present circumstances. That is why a certain common ground exists."

"The United States and Russia should proceed from the fact that both countries are strong and neither fears the other.... Each one of these two countries should be ready to meet the other on controversial problems."

We have given here two quotes: Whose are they? It turns out that they are statements voiced by leaders of the extreme right wing in American political life, noted for their unconcealed anti-Sovietism; the first belongs to John Foster Dulles and the second to Richard Nixon. These statements were not made accidentally. Obviously, the reason lies elsewhere. Where? According to that same Wallace, the only principle supported by the American people is that of "peace" and, for this reason, reciprocal understanding with the USSR, even should this require reciprocal concessions. And precisely in order to keep the audience interested and not break contact with it that both Dulles and Nixon deemed it sensible to turn to Wallace's formula. This, however, is an indication of a fact considered significant from all viewpoints: frenzied war propaganda notwithstanding, the aspiration of the U.S. people to live in peace is indestructible.

American history of the postwar decades provides examples which the present U.S. leadership as well should not ignore. We are referring not only to the political or human destinies of Dulles and Nixon; it would be equally useful to remember the rise and fall of Joseph McCarthy. Being convinced that the people of America took part in his overthrow--with their common sense, concept of justice and dislike of demagogy, which is based on lies, and hatred of anything related to fascism, I would like to believe that McCarthy was exposed by that same America which had been our ally in the great antifascist war.

I mention this with such conviction because I consider accurate the view expressed by Senator Flanders of Vermont, who was not afraid to compare McCarthy with Hitler and McCarthyism with Nazism. Like Hitler, McCarthy tried to gain political capital in the struggle against communism. "In the same way that Hitler received substantial funds from the magnates in the Ruhr, the petroleum magnates of Texas generously opened their purses to McCarthy. McCarthy's tactics were hardly different from those of Mussolini and Hitler, proceeding from one and the same Jesuit dogma: It is unnecessary to argue with one's opponents to defeat him; all that is required is to accuse him of treason."

McCarthy became a nonperson, like all those possessed. It is said that death is a law and not a punishment. In this case, it was precisely a punishment. It is also said that it is in death that the devil triumphs over life. The unanimity shown by the people of America in the struggle against McCarthy and the way they boycotted and brought him down expressed a truth which should be respected: There are healthy forces in the people.

Thus, to go back to the beginning of our article, we should acknowledge that victory in a war which gave the world the unique phenomenon of the anti-Hitlerite coalition is the triumph of the Leninist foreign policy, the basic principles of which were proclaimed by the Soviet delegation in San Giorgio

Palace in Geneva. It was precisely thanks to this policy, which our country has followed from the very first days of the October Revolution, that fascism was defeated.

Nothing could be more dangerous under the present circumstances than to abandon the policy of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation and to revise the history of the war itself. The single base of such a revision is to perpetrate a swindle on an unparalleled scale. What would make such a swindle even more sacrilegious is that it would doom to oblivion the millions of people who accepted death for the sake of the living. Clearly, our common duty is to restore the truth. Truth alone, inflexible and single, can preserve the memory of the fallen and the life of the living.

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## EMBLEM OF QUALITY AND QUALITY OF EMBLEM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85) pp 110-113

[Letter to the editors by Candidate of Juridical Sciences Ye. Yefimov]

[Text] Along with quantitative, qualitative indicators are being given increasing priority at the present stage in the development of the national economy. This is reflected in the steady increase in the share of industrialized consumer goods produced, which bear the state Emblem of Quality.

In the past few years, state certification of production quality, which was instituted in 1967, extensively proved its usefulness. The certification procedure is being improved with every passing year, and the number of items awarded the pentagonal honor emblem is increasing. Whereas no more than 200 different commodities were certified in 1967, in 1977 they exceeded 5,000. All in all, on 1 January 1985 the Emblem of Quality had been awarded to 78,000 different types of products. In 1984, the share of superior quality goods in the total volume of goods subject to certification reached 43 percent.

State certification of output is being improved consistently. Thus, starting with 1976, assignments for commodity certification have been included in the state plan for economic and social development and the plans for the assimilation of new equipment. The certification method has been significantly perfected and the procedure for organizing state supervision over the requirements concerning goods classified as being of superior quality has been improved. A system of state standards was formulated with a nomenclature of quality indicators.

Nevertheless, many difficulties, shortcomings and unresolved problems remain in the area of commodity certification. As we know, the quality problem covers various aspects of activities of labor collectives.

Practical experience indicates that creative cooperation among industrial enterprises, design and engineering organizations, scientific research institutes and VUZs yields great results in the struggle for improving production quality. An interlinked comprehensive system seems to appear in

such cases, which contributes to the successful solution of problems of upgrading technical production standards and improving production quality.

Examples of such cooperation are found in the creative association among many Moscow organizations and enterprises of the Ministry of Instrument Making and Automation Equipment and Control Systems and the Ministry of Automotove Industry: The Moscow SKB [Special Design Office] for automatic lines and special machine tools, the Moscow plants for high-speed precision electric power drives, "Kalibra" and others. The results of such cooperation are obvious: labor productivity has almost doubled, assembly and equipment tuning time has been reduced by a factor of 2 or 3, more than nine-tenths of all machine tools are awarded the state Emblem of Quality and economic benefits have exceeded 10 million rubles.

Nevertheless, although in frequent cases a comprehensive control system of quality of output (KSUKP) may have been organized at an enterprise, the flood of complaints regarding the quality of goods goes on uninterrupted. One of the reasons for this is that, after applying the KSUKP, some managers assume that if there is a system the quality of output should automatically improve. However, the formulation of the KSUKP is merely the beginning of extensive and complex organizational, technical and economic work aimed at reorganizing the production process. Furthermore, in the widespread implementation of comprehensive systems, formal certification and efforts to impress have not been avoided in the reports submitted. Every year the Gostandart territorial authorities deprive 60 to 70 enterprises throughout the country of the right to install a KSUKP. In other words, such systems prove to be ineffective and unable to pass the quality test. This led Gostandart to the decision that all systems in operation will have to be reregistered before the end of the five-year plan.

Many consumers justifiably point out that occasionally it is precisely items awarded the five-point star of honor that break down and create difficulties for their owners. At this point, the question of the quality of the Emblem of Quality itself arises, and whether the existence of this emblem is a guarantee of the good quality of the respective item.

It is self-evident that items awarded the Emblem of Quality should be vastly superior to all other items of their kind and that such output bearing the pentagonal symbol of honor should provide its owners with certain advantages. In practice, however, this is hardly the case.

To begin with, items bearing the Emblem of Quality are frequently indistinguishable from items without it. Either item, should it break down, needs the usual repairs, frequently repeatedly. Furthermore, the workshops which "nurse" such items do not distinguish between items bearing the Emblem of Quality and the others. The same waiting period for spare parts and, briefly put, the same nervousness on the part of the unfortunate customer are the same. Secondly, the Emblem of Quality gives no advantages in terms of guaranteed services to the owners of said commodities. Thirdly, the economic mechanism which makes the enterprises struggle for the production of goods bearing the Emblem of Quality operates skittishly, as the saying goes. The point is that so far the collectives are insufficiently interested in

undertaking in the production of "superior quality" goods. Nor does the current procedure for bonus markups to the wholesale prices of new commodities, consistent with superior quality requirements, or discounts on wholesale prices for goods the production of which should be stopped, help to resolve the problem.

All of these shortcomings are frequently the reason for which some enterprises struggle less for quality than for quantity of items awarded the Emblem of Quality--for "prestige" and the submission of good reports. That is why the new procedure for the certification of industrial commodities, based on two quality categories, which was introduced on 1 July 1984, drastically upgrades the requirements which the "candidates" for this emblem must meet.

The new certification procedure blocks the "sneaking" through certification of goods with low technical and economic indicators. The view which prevailed until recently that the submission of a commodity manufactured by an enterprise for an Emblem of Quality award is exclusively a voluntary undertaking of the personnel no longer prevails. Furthermore, the new regulations eliminate cases in which individual ministries and enterprises try to have the Emblem of Quality awarded only to items of secondary importance, which do not determine the aspect of their enterprise, instead of ensuring the superior quality of their main product.

The certification of newly manufactured goods is based on the results of their use (consumption) no later than 1 year after their production date or, in the case of particularly complex items, no less than 2 years since the beginning of their series production. The great importance of this rule is determined by the fact that not so long ago enterprises frequently delayed the submission of new goods for certification. Some types of machines and enterprises were classified as "new" items subject to certification year after year.

It is very important, therefore, for the competent authorities--the State Committee for Science and Technology, Gosstandart, and USSR Gosplan and State Committee for Prices, to speed up the formulation of the legal status of commodities awarded the Emblem of Quality, stipulating in this document the rights of the owners of such goods.

Upgrading production quality and consumer features, reliability and durability are inseparably related to the application of progressive standards. In a number of sectors, however, for many years such progressive standards have not been applied and standardization plans are still poorly related to new equipment plans. In frequent cases the new standards include stipulations inferior to the best contemporary standards for similar goods. Delays occur in revising state standards which are no longer effective. Actually, some quite strange situations develop. Thus, for example, State Standard 10280-75 for power vacuum cleaners legitimizes a "probability of faultless functioning with a 0.9 rating." This means that 10 percent of all vacuum cleaners may be defective. Nor should we be amazed by another feature: frequently the length of the guarantee issued for goods with the Emblem of Quality, as well as the procedure governing their exchange, should they break down, are the same as for goods without the emblem.

One of the features of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution is the ever-accelerating process of production updating. The average service life of an item (including moral obsolescence) is becoming shorter and shorter. It is no secret that in the period of mastering the production of a new item or technology, the enterprise must bear higher costs for preparing the item for production, designing and manufacturing attachments and fittings, above-norm consumption of materials and complementing items, etc. All such costs are not always reflected in planned production costs and greatly increase expenditures at the beginning of the manufacturing of the new equipment and hinder the implementation of profit assignments. This leads to the familiar problem that, on the one hand, if the pioneering enterprise, which is mastering technical innovations and producing new items is not compensated for temporarily higher costs, it will not be interested in such work; on the other, if such outlays are included in the price, the enterprise-consumer will be uninterested in purchasing such excessively expensive new items.

Here is an example. At one point the Altay Plant for Tractor Electric Power Equipment (AZTE) undertook the production of the less expensive and less metal-intensive G-306 tractor generator, which was soon afterward awarded the state Emblem of Quality. On a national economic scale, this novelty promised the saving of millions of tons of ferrous and nonferrous metals and savings in excess of 10 million rubles per year. The manufacturing of the new generator, which met world standards, was organized on a conveyor belt basis. Soon afterwards, however, it became clear that the AZTE fell among enterprises which failed to fulfill their plan, for its marketing plan was set in rubles. Since the item's price had dropped, there was no question of fulfilling assignments (the marketing assignment of the AZTE collective had not been lowered).

After a newspaper published an article on such an abnormal situation in price setting, the USSR State Committee for Prices took a number of steps to eliminate such shortcomings. It was resolved, among others, to take into consideration the use of less expensive materials and substitutes in setting prices, providing that this did not worsen production quality.

For the sake of fairness, let us point out that since 1979 priority has been given in our country to encouraging the production of high-efficiency goods based on developments properly recognized as inventions or discoveries. A 50-percent incentive markup is allowed on the wholesale prices of such items.

This procedure was further concretized in the Method for Setting Wholesale Prices and Standards of Net Output for New Machines, Equipment and Instruments for Production-Technical Purposes, which was passed by the USSR State Committee for Prices in December of 1982. Thus, according to the new method, the 50 percent incentive markup was extended to new high-efficiency superior quality goods manufactured to replace imported items. Naturally, this increases the interest of engineering and design organizations in developing the latest equipment.

Furthermore, the procedure applied since 1983 includes steps aimed at encouraging the production of new equipment of lowered material- and labor-

intensiveness. In such cases, if the quality of the product is retained or improved, the entire difference in production costs (savings) included in the price of the new commodity is considered additional profit for the manufacturing enterprise. Naturally, if the quality remains the same a wholesale price with its incentive markup must not exceed the price of the base commodity.

All such steps taken to encourage the production of new equipment are an important aspect in resolving the problems based on the stipulations of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which noted the need for the development of a system of organizational, economic and moral steps which would develop an interest in updating equipment on the part of managers and workers and, naturally, scientists and designers, and would make work as usual unprofitable.

State certification practices include facts of direct interconnection between technical and aesthetic parameters. For example, the expert conclusion of the All-Union Scientific Research Industrial Aesthetics Institute (VNIITE) which rated the aesthetic quality indicators of the UTA P-1000-1.8 model electric iron, produced at the Bol'shevik Plant in Leningrad, cited as one of the shortcomings in the aesthetic features of this item the imperfect and unprepossessing design of the water holder. For that reason the item was not awarded the Emblem of Quality. We could assume that finding a better solution for this iron by experts in their field would have made it possible to eliminate this defect and ensure the high aesthetic indicators of the item as a whole.

In daily life, while properly acknowledging the reliability of a consumer item, we complain of its inept and unpleasing appearance. The opposite occurs as well. Some consumer goods, although described as new (based on the date of manufacturing) are quite inferior to the best contemporary models in terms of technical parameters. Why? Many reasons could be cited, but essentially there is only one. The developed items for industrial purposes and consumer goods frequently do not embody the latest and most efficient decisions of the inventors or artistic-design developments; patent information is either ignored or underestimated, such as the information concentrated in authorship certificates (patents) for inventions or certificates (patents) for industrial prototypes.

Today invention, in all its manifestations, is the most important component of the concept of quality control. Among other things, this is confirmed by the fact that the dozens of groups of indicators used in evaluating the quality of items include patent-legal indicators used in determining the patentability of items in the USSR and abroad and their patent purity. The proper solution of such problems will enable us to determine the competitiveness of items submitted for certification in foreign markets, which is a mandatory prerequisite for awarding an item the Emblem of Quality.

It has been estimated, for example, that the prices of commodities for export are being increased faster than their quality: reducing the quality of item below world standards by 10 percent lowers its price by approximately 25 percent; a 25 percent drop in quality lowers the price by one-half. An item

the quality of which is 50 percent below world standards is virtually unsellable, for its price would not cover even the cost of the raw materials. If production quality is 10 percent above average world standards (which is the purpose of the current procedure for awarding the Emblem of Quality), its price could exceed average world prices by more than 50 percent.

Nevertheless, this important problem has still not been accurately settled from the legal point of view in the matter of production certification.

It would be equally topical and expedient to make it incumbent upon enterprises and organizations to define in their annual plans for the development of new types of industrial commodities and consumer goods the items to be registered as industrial prototypes, including those developed on the basis of inventions. It is also important for enterprises and organizations to submit for Emblem of Quality certification items created on the basis of artistic-design solutions and accepted industrial prototypes.

Currently, some enterprises have set themselves the task of seeing to it that all items manufactured by them are awarded the state Emblem of Quality. The expediency of this stipulation is questionable. This would mean putting an end to the struggle for improving the quality of output on the basis of the latest and most efficient scientific and technical and artistic design developments and, therefore, stagnation in the sector. Actually, why master something new and update items if what is being produced is already the best.

However, it would be expedient to increase the responsibility of ministries and departments in organizing the certification based on quality of items for industrial use and consumer goods developed on the basis of the use of inventions and trademarks, with a view to ensuring their comprehensive legal protection.

The experience gained by the Leningrad Optical-Mechanical Association (LOMO) is an example of the successful solution of the problem of such protection. In this association, the latest scientific and technical solutions are embodied in original designer items. LOMO items--motion picture and still camera equipment and other items, currently shipped to more than 100 different countries, enjoy in frequent cases comprehensive legal protection with the help of authorship certificates (patents) for inventions, certificates (patents) for industrial prototypes and trademarks.

Unfortunately, today commodity certification frequently "peacefully coexist" with the comprehensive legal protection of said accomplishments, although the task is to blend such activities.

The March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum called for a decisive turn in converting the national economy to intensive development, reaching the most advanced scientific and technical positions within a short time and attaining the highest global level of public labor productivity. Under these circumstances, within the next few years our industry must undertake the production of commodities whose indicators would be consistent with the best contemporary models and apply progressive technological processes and, on this basis, substantially improve labor productivity in the national economy.

It is important, however, to bear in mind that from the legal viewpoint discoveries, inventions and various scientific and technical creative accomplishments are frequently not supported by standards and certifications. For the duration of the standards, which covers a specific period of time and has the force of law, the utilization of the latest results of scientific and technical creativity falls behind the juridical processing and legal protection of inventors. The situation is further complicated by the fact that currently state standards and other standardizing technical documents for items and technologies are valid for 5 years (in practice for an even longer period of time), while the effect of the superior quality emblem for industrial items does not exceed 3 years. Therefore, during the "lifespan" of a standard, the same item must be recertified several times. Under these circumstances, the effective standards cannot encompass the latest scientific and technical achievements and remain behind technical progress.

In our view, standardization and certification could be made consistent with the requirements of technical progress by establishing a procedure which would enable us to make standardization more flexible and introduce more efficiently in state standards and other technical documentation amendments and supplements based on effective inventions.

The current quality control system is based on the laws and principles governing public production and is governmental and national-economic in nature. Between 1977 and 1984 the share of industrial output bearing the state Emblem of Quality increased by a factor of 2.4 and is now 16 percent higher than the overall volume of output, reaching 40 percent in the machine-building sectors. The share of superior quality goods in the overall volume of output is one of the indicators on the basis of which the work of enterprises and sectorial ministries in upgrading production quality is planned and rated.

Under such circumstances, the Emblem of Quality is not a mark of prestige but an all-union pedestal of honor. The Emblem of Quality is an emblem of the state and should be awarded only to those worthy of it.

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## ESSENTIAL FEATURE OF THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

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[Letter to the editors by Doctor of Technical Sciences Prof Ya. Parkhomovskiy]

[Text] The reform of general education and vocational schools is a major component of the planned and comprehensive advancement of developed socialist society. The April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum decree noted its great political, socioeconomic and ideological significance. The implementation of the reform is a matter of deep concern for the entire party and people. It will contribute to the further training and communist upbringing of the growing generation and the acceleration of the economic and social progress of our society.

"The reform," the plenum emphasized, "creates conditions for the parallel development of the entire public education system which, naturally, includes the higher school, thus substantially affecting the pace of our economic, social and spiritual progress and the country's defense capability. It is precisely here that the human prerequisites of that which is our prime concern are created: the organic combination of the socialist economic management system with the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution."

We are justifiably proud of the fact that our homeland is a country of universal literacy. This is one of the most visible and impressive results of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the purposeful policy pursued by the CPSU. However, much more has been attained, for today our country has tens of millions of specialists with secondary or higher training. A widespread system of various types of schools--daytime, evening and, finally, correspondence--is successfully operating.

This system enables all Soviet citizens not only to acquire the desired education but to improve it and to gain higher skills, officially documented by the state.

Today the bulk of our country's able-bodied population consists of people with full secondary training. This is the most socially active part of the people,

those who, in the words of the poet, "build, lay and construct," and "drive the trains at night."

I would like to discuss in particular the systematic enhancement of the educational level of this the main segment of the population.

The broad human masses try to learn more than they did at school (or even at an institute). They would like to intensify and increase their general culture and "grow up" even more in their own field and achieve, I emphasize this, a higher level of spiritual development. This trend is one of the manifestations of an objective law of a society in which labor is free: the steady enhancement of the needs of the member of the new world.

A person who has started a family, has acquired secondary or higher training and, in the course of his work, gained professional experience, begins urgently to fill the need further to enhance the level of his knowledge, whether specialized or (perhaps even more so) general.

It seems to me that people satisfied with their chosen career or profession but who would like to upgrade their education on their own could be conventionally divided into two groups.

The first consists of people who are not aspiring to earn one type of diploma or another (which is one of the basic objectives of organized education) but need something entirely different: more education.

The second group--the "practical people"--are people with skills that are high but not high enough, who occasionally hold engineering positions and who, in addition to a general education, need a document which would certify to their professional training or right to hold such positions.

Most of them are not suited for "organized" forms of training. For a variety of reasons (age, lack of regulation time for attending classes, working conditions or residence, family circumstances and many others) they are unable to make use of such methods.

There is yet another reason which makes correspondence or evening training in VUZs unacceptable to either group. Organized training is like a "full menu," if you wish. The members of either group need no more than some "dishes" from this entire "menu." The first group is interested in individual sciences. The second group needs practical knowledge which as a rule (this is no criticism of higher technical schools) go beyond the amount of professional information which the young specialist acquires at school, consisting either of general disciplines, and not all of them at that (let us point out that in the case of this second group we should think of developing a variety of auditing systems as most suitable for "practical" workers. Perhaps we could bring back the old system which allowed highly skilled production workers to become diploma'd specialists. A system already exists for acquiring a scientific degree and defending a dissertation without the need for postgraduate studies).

Self-training is the natural and only way left open to both groups. Briefly, it seems to me that the current system of organized training should be expanded with a system which would stimulate and encourage the universal desire for self-education and self-training. This desire is one of the characteristic features of the socialist way of life. Self-education is the most effective way for the further enhancement of the standards of the broadest popular strata, above all in the outlying areas--villages, new construction projects and "boondocks," i.e., places where most of the citizens in our country live. The question of self-education is of interest to all, not only to young people with a diploma but also to people with higher and specialized training and people with scientific degrees and titles. Naturally, each one of these groups must have its own self-education methods.

This is self-evident, for self-education is the basic, the decisive element of any education or, if one wishes, its superior form.

Maksim Gorkiy, who had not graduated even from grammar school, eventually became one of the most educated people of his time. Terentiy Mal'tsev who, incidentally, will be celebrating his 90th birthday this year, became a specialist and adviser to ministers and professors, alone, without VUZ education.... A list of such people would be quite long.

Such people, however, one may object, are outstanding and exceptional cases. This is true! However, the extensive education of many highly skilled fitters and turners of the period of my youth--the 1930s--could be envied by many current graduates of higher educational institutions. Yet these workers had absolutely no formal education.

Still, today one unwittingly shrugs one's shoulders when journalists express their excessive (and even insulting to their subjects) admiration of the broad outlook, education and political maturity of mechanizers, milkmaids and simple rank-and-file working people, forgetting that, in the final account, this is a norm of our way of life. It is a basic stipulation of the communist party that such a quality must be achieved by every citizen of the land of the soviets, regardless of professional affiliation, which mandatorily presumes a high level of intellectual development and class consciousness, fully consistent with the requirements of the new socioeconomic system.

However, self-education should not simply assist or be presented as a "dessert" after the traditional state system of general and vocational training. No, it must be purposefully organized in accordance with existing social requirements.

One cannot say that nothing in this respect is being done in the country. It would be pertinent to point out regular radio and television broadcasts and the intensive and extensive activities of the lectures and printed publications of the Znaniye All-Union Society. A number of publishing houses are coming out with popular science works published in large editions, works which do not remain unsold in the bookstores, a fact which confirms the great demand for such publications. The same could be said of the great variety of dictionaries and encyclopedias and the making of popular science motion pictures.

A great deal is being done. Nevertheless, all of this is still insufficient.

In my view, systematic self-education is a subject of insufficient attention as the main form of self-education. It is a method which enables a person to acquire purposeful and systematic knowledge in one area of spiritual culture or another. Naturally, no series of popular works, even specialized, could provide such education.

What does systematic training require?

It requires, above all, specialized textbooks or, to give it their older name, self-teaching books.

Teach-yourself books for the study of foreign languages were an exceptionally popular method for linguistic training before the revolution and in the first years after it and until the mid-1930s. Thousands of members of my and younger generations recall them gratefully. Most polyglots are self-taught. There even were publishing houses which specialized in the production of self-teaching books. There were a number of such works. Each one of them offered the student a system for mastering a language and consolidating linguistic and grammatical knowledge and, in the final account, ensured a certain level of mastery of the language, which made it possible to read in foreign languages or even to speak in them.

The existence of radio and television and contemporary technical training facilities did not make self-teaching language courses obsolete. Conversely, today self-teaching of languages may be organized on a different, much higher level.

Whereas not too long ago the purposeful study of foreign languages was the main and, even the only, element of self-education, today, with a much higher educational level reached by our society--the society of developed socialism--the purpose of self-education has been broadened. Political self-education plays a very important role here. The secondary school merely lays the foundations for a materialistic outlook. Its further development is assisted by the established system of political training and the comprehensive activities of the Znaniye All-Union Society. At the same time, however, it would be expedient to intensify the independent study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. This can be assisted with aids which facilitate the study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and their followers.

An entire system of independent study of the foundations of a number of sciences, both humanities and natural, could and should be created (let us remember that the backbone of Lenin's guard consists of people who had become highly self-educated in jail or in exile).

Consequently, we should undertake the publication of an entire series of such independent study courses. Each one of them could be a full introduction to a scientific discipline which, once mastered, would enable the reader to understand specialized publications.

Naturally, such aids could be substantially different from textbooks used in secondary schools and VUZs, above all on the methodical level, for in this case an important link in the structure of the education process would be missing--the educator or lecturer. Here the student is also his own teacher.

Another quality which must be mandatorily present in any self-education aid should be borne in mind: It must be interesting. One could write entertainingly about science, in the loftiest meaning of the term. Many are the books combining scientific knowledge with entertainment. The training aid should literally grab the attention of the student. Incidentally, success in teaching anything has always and decisively depended on this.

Self-training is a much more difficult process than training in secondary school or VUZ, something which must be taken into consideration. It is an active process unlike stationary education, which is significantly more passive.

Therefore, special training aids are needed. Some experience, although small, it is true, exist in the publication of such aids. Let me mention, for example, some memorable issues of "Worker Faculty at Home," which are well-familiar to me and which came out in the 1920s and 1930s.

Books are the main element in self-education. No other method for acquiring information can replace them (at least for the time being). The publication of books for such purposes should be organized. This could include series such as "In Aid of Self-Education." The content of such series, naturally, should be the subject of profound and comprehensive work.

I believe that such publications should include, above all, a series on the method for independent work with scientific books and on the art of self-training. This is not taught in school to a sufficient extent. Therefore, we need aids on the "technology" of independent work with books and organization of mental work. Such aids should sum up the experience of outstanding men of science, literature and culture and provide selections of corresponding texts, memoirs, lectures, statements, etc.

Unquestionably, such books, saturated with live examples and containing descriptions of personal experience, successes and failures and typical errors would be very successful, and not only among self-taught students.

In my view, self-education is one of the most important major state tasks. Its successful implementation within even a single department would require the creation of a special authority (committee, commission, etc.) which would comprehensively promote the self-training of the working people on a national scale and would plan, coordinate and encourage the comprehensive enhancement of the efficiency of such activities. Such an agency would formulate the principles and forms of self-training, single out the cycle of sciences which would be of widespread interest and of particular usefulness to society at the present stage, and develop a circle of skilled authors and consultants. Briefly, self-training of the toiling masses should be set on an efficient track.

Information as to who should take up self-training and how, could be obtained, for example, through the dissemination of a questionnaire. Its formulation, which would be adapted for computerized processing, and the study of the resulting data and compilation of the results and consequent recommendations could be easily carried out on a voluntary basis. The questionnaire itself could be published in the press. Naturally, this is only one of the possible means of obtaining information concerning self-training potential.

A major link in the mass self-training system would be the initial creation of special departments (editorial boards) by the publishing houses, which would be in charge of preparing books for self-training and, naturally, their publication. An aktiv of specialist authors would be developed around such editorial boards (the organization of a specialized publishing house as well could be possible in the future).

POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE is a well-known journal. Its example and experience could become the base for starting in other press organs sections on self-education and, perhaps, even organizing on this level a broadly specialized journal. It would mandatorily include sections on intellectual work standards, bibliography, etc. (with lists of recommended reading for the various study sectors).

Finally, self-education and independent work on upgrading one's ideological, political, professional and cultural standards should be systematically propagandized. The example of "heroes of self-education" worthy of emulation, should be comprehensively disseminated. We must become no less interested in self-education than we are in popular physical culture and sports.

This by no means covers all problems arising in this connection. The matter requires the coordinated efforts of the USSR Academy of Sciences, ministries, committees, departments and public organizations. Obviously, the main role should be assumed by the Znaniye All-Union Society. Time will be needed to resolve such problems. However, this should not be postponed for the distant future.

People involved in self-education and training are a major reserve in the country's intellectual potential.

Of late, the press has paid great attention to leisure time. This, indeed, is a very serious topic. The 5-day work week and the existence of 2 days of rest make the question of the sensible utilization of leisure time quite topical. Surplus free time creates a kind of "sociological niche" quite similar to ecological "niches." In the same way that ecological "niches" attract undesirable and parasitical elements, the existence of leisure time not filled with a sensible occupation could trigger undesirable and occasionally even antisocial phenomena.

How to fill in the leisure time and with what?

Leisure time means not only reading, going to the movies, concerts or theaters or games or, let us say, fishing through holes in the ice, which is so

frequently described in the press. It does not mean only sitting in front of the television screen. Such a list should include self-education as a main component, which would be an active and socially useful utilization of the leisure time.

Finally, self-education is also a good means of drawing people away from unreasonable ways of "killing" time, including drinking.

The comprehensive involvement of the masses in our country in self-education, which would enable them to upgrade their ideological-political and educational standards, would contribute to the social and economic progress of our homeland.

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## EXPERIENCE IS OUR COMMON PROPERTY

AU170401 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 85 (signed to press 20 Mar 85)  
pp 118-125

[Unattributed article on the publication of the book by M. S. Solomentsev, "A Time of Decisions and Actions. Selected Speeches and Articles."]

[Text] At all stages of its development, our party has always attached an exceptionally great significance to the strengthening of the unity of theoretical and practical activity and to a sober analysis of the real experience of realizing revolutionary theory in practice. The CPSU invariably proceeds from the fact that only practice is the criterion of truth of this or that theoretical proposition, and that only concrete practical steps in the new, changed conditions of the revolutionary struggle are capable of providing material for new theoretical generalizations and conclusions which will throw light on the further work of the party in transforming society on collectivist principles.

As was pointed out at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, on the eve of the 27th Party Congress it is necessary to significantly activate the party's collective thought, and not only general theoretical but also political thought. Theory, enriched by new experience, and experience, creatively interpreted in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, have always formed and continue to form the most important source of our party's strength.

The necessity of all possible activation of the party's collective thought is also dictated not least by the special and exceptionally important place which the 27th Congress will occupy in contemporary history. The highest forum of Soviet communists has to approve the new edition of the party program and to discuss possible amendments to its statute. In the course of the pregress discussion of these most important documents, it will be necessary to analyze past experience profoundly, painstakingly and critically, to sum up and interpret what has been done, to extract lessons from mistakes committed and to outline measures to correct them, and to determine ways of solving new problems, both immediate and future.

V. I. Lenin considered that taking account of the experience of local party organizations, which gives a fuller, more substantive picture of the state of

affairs in the party, reveals all the pluses and minuses in party work, and reflects the mood of the masses and the party's actual, real links with them, is especially important for the elaboration of all-party decisions. Following the glorious Bolshevik tradition, the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee constantly pay the closest attention to studying the practice of party organizations at all levels. All aspects of any importance of the work of primary party organizations, party raykoms and gorkoms, obkoms and kraykoms, and of communist party central committees of the union republics, are analyzed and generalized at party congresses and CPSU Central Committee plenums and in adopted resolutions. Generalized and theoretically interpreted in the appropriate documents, the experience of party work becomes our common, priceless property.

A notable contribution to the interpretation of this experience is made by the collections of works by prominent figures of our party, members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretaries, which have been published in recent years. The book of selected speeches and articles by Comrade M. S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Party Control Committee attached to the CPSU Central Committee, which covers the 30-year period of his activity in responsible party and state posts, and which appeared recently, will also be received by the reader with undoubted interest.

The materials contained in the book make it possible to sense the movement of time and to get a clear picture of the way that, with each new historical stage, as the tasks being solved by the Soviet people become more complex, so the leading role of the party increases in all spheres of the society's life, and the theoretical thought and practical activity of the CPSU are enriched. The necessity of embracing all aspects of social life with the party's influence is most acutely felt now, at the stage of developed socialism, when the interconnection and interdependence of economic, social and spiritual factors in social progress are becoming particularly close.

A considerable amount of the material found in the collection under review is devoted to questions of party leadership in economic construction. In the progress of the economy the party sees a material basis for the solution of the main social and political tasks, which are all possible increases of the people's prosperity, the development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of the defense might of the land of the soviets and the consolidation of peace on earth. All the tasks aimed at forming the new person, the socialist personality, are also being practically solved primarily in the work process and in the sphere of social production. In precisely this sphere the constructive activeness of Soviet people develops daily, their personal qualities are revealed and tested and their social interests and norms of behavior are formed. Precisely here are formed those attitudes of members of society toward one another and to the work being done, which in the final analysis determine the whole tenor and quality of our lives.

By our economic successes we exert the main influence on the development of the world revolutionary process. And Lenin's words about economic construction being the main policy for us sound just as topical today as they did 10 or 50 years ago.

The materials in the collection give a clear picture of the basic trends in the scientifically substantiated economic policy of the CPSU, and about the central economic problems being solved at the contemporary stage of social development.

The party's most important strategic goal in the sphere of economy today is a steep rise in the efficiency of social production and the intensification of the whole national economy. "Running the economy efficiently," Comrade M. S. Solomentsev's book notes in this connection, "means increasing production to an ever greater extent through full and rational utilization of already existing production capacities, the renewal and modernization of equipment, and the introduction of the achievements of contemporary science and technology, and through a zealous attitude to every minute of working time and to every gram of raw materials and fuel. This means constantly measuring expenditure against the results that are received, and reaching a point where every newly invested ruble gives maximum returns" (p 116).

Concerning itself with the economy has always meant to the party primarily concerning itself with the people running the economy. This thought runs right through the materials in the collection. The spectrum of problems examined in it is unusually broad. And the author does not judge them from hearsay. M. S. Solomentsev was directly involved with the complex questions of advancing metallurgy and machine-building in the southern Urals when he was secretary and second secretary of the Chelyabinsk CPSU Obkom, and chairman of the Chelyabinsk Economic Council. The problems of developing the economy of the Kazakh SSR, and in particular of the republic's heavy industry, and founding of Kazakhstan's Magnitka, are examined in speeches made at the time when their author was working as first secretary of the Karaganda Obkom and second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. Articles and speeches on various aspects of the activity of the Rostov Oblast party organization, of which M. S. Solomentsev was head for a number of years, are written in close relation to events and from the position of a direct participant in those events. The most important questions of the development of socialist industry are examined in articles and speeches relating to the period of his work in the post of secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The reader will find the richest material for reflection on the role of the human factor in the progress of the economy, on ways and forms of accelerating this progress and on the causes slowing it down, in those works in the collection concerned with the development of the Russian Federation--the largest in the family of fraternal republics--the chairman of the Council of Ministers of which M. S. Solomentsev was for 12 years.

The works, written over 3 decades, not only give a graphic impression of the way in which the collective experience of local party organizations and of the party as a whole was increased from stage to stage, in which the forms of their practical activity were adjusted and perfected from congress to congress, and the theoretical ideas on the leading laws governing socialist construction were enriched and more precisely defined in step with the progress of real socialism, but they also facilitate a more accurate and complete perception of the principled newness and extraordinary complexity of the socioeconomic tasks being solved by the party today. A broad

retrospective view of the experience of past decades is undoubtedly useful in the CPSU's present important and difficult work in the reorientation of social awareness.

The materials in the collection convincingly show that when it is necessary to fulfill a large national economic task, overcome an existing lag, or eliminate a bottleneck, the party organizations are called upon primarily to explain to people the situation which has arisen, to involve all members of the collective in the search for ways of overcoming difficulties, to attentively listen to all proposals, discuss them openly, weigh them, and take them into account. If each individual feels himself an active participant in the search and feels that attention is paid to his opinion, too, and that his opinion has become part of the collectively developed decision, then there will be no passive individuals in the course of realizing this decision in practice, either. For the success of any task it is also important to correctly deploy people in order that each might make the greatest contribution to the common work, and to guarantee a daily control over the progress of the fulfillment of the adopted decisions. The author graphically illustrates these ageless truths with examples of the activity of the party organizations of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine (pp 5-13), the Chelyabinsk tractor and the Ural automobile plants, of the Kopeysk CPSU gorkom and city soviet (pp 14-18), and of a number of party organizations in Kazakhstan (pp 23-56) and the Rostov Oblast.

The intensive nature of the economic development is manifested primarily in the accelerated growth of the social labor productivity. In the articles and speeches by M. S. Solomentsev included in the collection, primary attention is paid to questions of improving the social labor productivity.

The role of the above factor in the further economic and social progress of developed socialism is sharply increasing at the present time, as is noted in the book. The tasks of improving the utilization of labor resources, the influx of which into the national economy has slowed down, of all possible economizing of present and past labor, and of the complex mechanization and automation of production are acquiring paramount importance. "The scale of our economy today is such that the growth of labor productivity by 1 percent means economizing on the labor of about 1 million workers in the sphere of material production" (p 471).

Enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes and construction organizations have at their disposal large and as yet not fully utilized reserves for increasing labor productivity. Meanwhile, the possibilities of its growth are PRACTICALLY INFINITE, just as the possibilities of perfecting equipment and technology and the organization of production and work, are unlimited.

The key to the solution of the main task which consists in ensuring uninterrupted and rapid growth of labor productivity is, as the articles and speeches by M. S. Solomentsev stress, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. And this is indissolubly linked with increasing the effectiveness of the work of scientific research institutes and design offices, with the wide-scale development of fundamental scientific research, and with the

efficient organization of the swiftest introduction into production of scientific recommendations and developments.

Production is looking to science for the solution of many problems. However, as the book notes, while a considerable amount has been done for the mechanization and automation of the basic production processes and the creation of large, highly productive aggregates, proper attention is not being paid to the mechanization and automization of auxiliary operations, including loading and unloading work, to the mechanization of labor-intensive processes and to the reduction of manual labor expenditure. Today it is particularly important to be concerned with the development of a complex of technical means that would permit the comprehensive mechanization and automization of labor in the sphere of everyday services, trade and material-technical supply.

Raising the level of scientific research, accelerating the development, industrial testing and introduction into production of new machines, products and technological processes and the creation of control instruments for them, means, the book notes, ensuring a steady rise in labor productivity (p 90).

In contemporary conditions the role and significance of the social factors in the growth of labor productivity are immeasurably growing: the level of cadres' qualifications, the stability of production collectives, the standard of production and the material and moral stimulants for encouraging highly productive labor and improving its conditions.

Combining the achievements of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution with the socialist organization of the economy is expected to considerably raise the return from the enormous production potential that our country has at its disposal. "As the scale of production grows," M. S. Solomentsev writes, "the improvement in the utilization of the basic production funds acquires ever greater importance. For this it is very important to ensure more progressive correlations between the renewal and the accumulation of basic funds and to carry out the planning of existing production capacities and new construction as a unified whole. This will promote the acceleration of the rates of technical reequipment and reconstruction of existing production capacities and will promote on this basis the achievement of a balance between existing and newly created workplaces, on the one hand, and labor resources, on the other, the reduction of expenditure on the development of production capacities, the improvement of their utilization and the increase of fund returns" (p 354).

The orientation toward fuller and more rational utilization of the country's existing production potential is, as the book notes, directly linked with the necessity of increasing the work shift index of equipment, and with the perfecting and strengthening of the "upper stages" of the corresponding branches: the so-called fourth process stage [chetvyertyy peredel] in metallurgy, finishing work in construction and the output of the final product in light industry.

The struggle for economical expenditures of material, labor, financial and all other resources is of extraordinarily great significance for improving the quality indexes of our national economy. The struggle for thrift, as the book

notes, is the norm of socialist economic management. It emanates from the very nature of the Soviet state and entirely meets the interests of the people. Lenin persistently stressed the need to pay the maximum attention to the rational expenditure of national resources.

Purposeful work to economize material resources yields positive results. In 1984 the country's industry achieved a growth in industrial production that outstripped the increase in the consumption of raw materials, fuel, materials and energy. The number of enterprises raising their output of products without increasing the volume of consumption of material resources is growing (p 472).

However, work in this direction must be expanded and perfected in every way possible. M. S. Solomentsev notes: "A resolute drive, the inclusion of each and everyone in the struggle for economical expenditure of resources and means, is required here. By conserving fuel, metal and construction materials, we will save millions of rubles and, most importantly, economize on the labor of many, many people" (p 295).

The successful shift of the economy onto the rails of intensification and the further increasing of the efficiency on social production call for persistent perfection of the entire economic mechanism and of the whole system of planned control of the socialist economy. Great attention is paid to these questions in the book. The scope of the work directed toward solving them is clearly visible in the example of the Russian Federation. In recent years a considerable amount has been done here to improve the practice of leadership in the economy and to raise the level of centralized planning. A change to a two-link and three-link system of management [dvukh- i trekhzvennaya sistema upravleniya] is being consistently implemented in the republic on the basis of the formation of industrial production and scientific-production associations. By 1981 there were more than 2,000 such associations operating in the RSFSR. A program of forming large territorial-production complexes is being consistently implemented, primarily in Siberia and the Far East.

The party's economic practice is bearing remarkable fruit. The figures cited by the author that describe, in particular, the successes achieved by the working people of the Russian Federation under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party are significant in this respect: "In the 6 decades after the formation of the USSR, the national income of the RSFSR has risen by 160 times. The industrial output increased by almost 500 times and agricultural output increased by more than 4 times.

"Or again: the republic produces 63 percent of the entire all-union electrical energy output, 58 percent of steel pipes and 85 percent of automobiles and 91 percent of oil, including gas condensate, is extracted in the republic... We have about 58 percent of the country's railroads, almost 87 percent of the main internal waterways and over half of the pipelines. Half or about half of the gross production of grain, sunflowers, potatoes, vegetables and livestock products is provided by the RSFSR" (p 433).

The author examines in detail questions connected with the development and implementation of Russia's Food Program and with the realization of a complex

program to turn the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR into a region of highly productive agriculture and livestock breeding and one of highly developed industry that serves the needs of agriculture. A significant place is accorded in the collection to the problems of the social restructuring of the village, and of the construction there of housing, motor vehicle roads and of socialcultural and communal and everyday service projects.

Today much is also being done in the republic to increase the production of consumer goods, the output of which continues to be a paramount task of all branches of industry and of all enterprises and organizations for the future, too.

The dynamic development of the republic's economy, the book stresses, is a reliable basis for solving the program tasks of the party in the sphere of social relations and culture.

At the stage of developed socialism the basic tendencies in the social sphere are determined to a great extent by the process of rapprochement between all classes and social groups in Soviet society. As was pointed out in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, social policy is called upon to take fuller account of the interests of each of these groups, while at the same time creating all the conditions for the enhancement of the leading role of the workers class in society.

The essential differences between city and village are being successfully overcome in our country. The rapprochement between different groups and the leveling out of the differences between city and village are proceeding against a background of a steady rise in the real incomes of the population. In the years from 1971 to 1981 alone, the book points out, the per capita real incomes increase by 51 percent, and in this connection they increased at higher rates for kolkhoz members than for workers and employees.

The trade, everyday, and communal services of the rural population is improving significantly. In 1971 a villager received on average almost 3 times fewer services than a city dweller, but in 1980 he received less than 1.5 times fewer. The supply of kolkhoz members' families with durable goods is close to the level achieved in workers' and employees' families. Again in 1970, there were 70 radio sets per every 100 workers' and employees' families and 62 sets per every 100 kolkhoz members' families; there were 92 and 82 televisions, 76 and 76 washing machines and 63 and 64 sewing machines, respectively.

In the course of the accelerated economic development of Siberia and the Far East, the author writes, a certain divergence in the levels of provision with sociocultural services of the populations of new and long inhabited regions arose. The measures taken in recent years to speed up the rates of sociocultural construction in Siberia, the Far East and regions of the Far North are making it possible to overcome these differences.

The party's social policy, as the book also notes, envisages the implementation within the next few years of extensive measures to improve the

demographic situation in our country and to enhance care of the family, newlyweds, women and children.

The ever strengthening interconnection of the processes occurring in the economic, sociopolitical and spiritual spheres of the life of Soviet society was thoroughly revealed at the 26th Party Congress. At the stage of mature socialism, economic progress is determined to an increasing extent by the further perfecting of social relations, by the raising of the people's cultural level and by successes and achievements in the formation of the new man.

Many topical questions of the communist education of working people are highlighted in the pages of the collection. The author writes about the contribution made to this work by party organizations and soviets, family and school, labor collectives and cultural establishments, lecturers of the Society for Knowledge, and writers, art workers and scientists.

A large place is assigned in the collection to the problem of enhancing the role of the work collective in communist education. In the co-report on the draft of the Foundations of the Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Labor, M. S. Solomentsev noted that the option of the law was expected to promote the perfection of the work organization, and the strengthening of work and production discipline in every labor collective. However, one should not see only the initial condition for the normal functioning of large-scale mechanical production in strict and conscientious discipline. Its significance is much broader. "Discipline," stresses the book, "is the principle of principles, without which it is impossible to foster a respectful, creative attitude to work, and which is one of the criteria of our whole way of life. That is the meaning of the efforts to strengthen work discipline that are being undertaken all over the country" (p 450).

And in the report on the draft of the Foundations of the Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Marriage and the Family, M. S. Solomentsev reveals in a thorough and well-argued way the enormous and totally irreplaceable role which the Soviet family, the primary cell of society, plays in the formation of the new man and in the formation of a socialist way of life. The nature of the attitudes established within the family, the level of not only its material welfare but also its spirituality, and its moral health determine to a great extent the make-up of the Soviet man, the degree of his social and work activeness, successes in bringing up the growing generation, and in the final analysis the progress of the whole of society. The extent of young men's and women's preparedness to fulfill responsible obligations before society as they begin their independent lives largely depends, first and foremost, on the way family relations form and on the way the children are brought up.

There is also mention in the pages of the collection of the most noble mission of Soviet schools and Soviet teachers, who are called upon, in conjunction with parents, to form in their charges a high sense of citizenship, irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology and morality, selfless devotion to the

Motherland and to the cause of communism, and a readiness to rise to the defense of the fatherland and its socialist achievements.

The book stresses the particular topicality of Leninist ideas on the combining of teaching with productive work, and persistently adheres to the thought that the work education and vocational orientation of youth should be carried out throughout the training-educational process. Young men and women should not only master the basics of science in secondary school, they should also acquire practical skills there for work in the economy.

M. S. Solomentsev's speeches to theater workers, composers, artists and writers deal clearly and convincingly with the greatest role which our literature and art play in the spiritual life of society and in the communist education of working people. "The core of Soviet art," notes the book, "as is known, is its problem-mindedness. What is primarily borne in mind in this connection is the problem-mindedness of contemporary works, in which topical questions of the life, work and morality of Soviet man are treated broadly, profoundly and comprehensively. And this is natural, as our society is not standing still, but is developing, developing in the struggle with the old and obsolete while discarding everything that discredits man and hinders the development of society. Such are the dialectics of life. And the artist's duty is not only to set this down, but also to promote the formation, development and consolidation of the new and progressive" (p 341).

The concept of the necessity of creatively assimilating the cultural heritage and of developing the realist tradition is persistently expressed in the pages of the collection. Without the classics as a basis, and without study and assimilation of the artistic achievements of previous generations, it is impossible to have genuine innovation, the primary distinguishing feature of the art of the new socialist society. "Unfortunately," notes M. S. Solomentsev, "every so often works appear which contain an underestimation of the heritage of the outstanding Russian realist artists, whose works are widely known and have become standards.

"At the same time, individual works glorify the traditions of the modernists of the beginning of the century, who had a negative influence on the formation of Soviet realist art" (p 394).

In the book, criticism is directed at those authors who are concerned more than anything else with their own "self-expression"; to satisfy this professional skills are often buried in oblivion, and the elementary demands of representative arts breached. Even today it is possible to see a portrait of a worker depicted as soulless and with deliberately enlarged muscles. Such portraits are naturally incapable of evoking the viewer's sympathy for working people or of furthering the fostering of a healthy aesthetic taste in them. "Take for example, the so-called twin memorials, or works which are characterized by sketchiness of form, and plastic incompleteness and coarseness of figures and faces," said M. S. Solomentsev at the 5th Congress of Artists of the RSFSR. "It appears that these deficiencies are largely determined by the authors' uncreative approach to the development and execution of their intentions. The Union of Writers and the Ministry of Culture must show greater exactingness. It is evidently necessary to take a

careful look at whether this important matter has not been monopolized in the hands of a narrow circle of artists, and whether there is not a secretive or group approach in the evaluation of designs... It is impossible not to agree also with the proposals for the organization of open competitions for memorial and monument designs, and also for wide public discussion of them and for increasing the role of arts councils and juries in this important matter. One would think that such an approach should be the norm, and not the exception" (pp 398-399).

The speeches and articles which M. S. Solomentsev addressed to workers of literature and art call upon creative workers to live for the interests of the people, to share their joy and sorrow, to affirm the truth of life and our humanist ideals, and to be active participants in socialist and communist construction.

Socialism is a society of liberated labor. The great Lenin piously believed that the transformation of society on collectivist principles would lead to a change in man's social and spiritual make-up, to the enrichment of the inner world of the individual and to the increasingly fuller revealing of the latter's creative powers and capabilities. "The party well understands," the book's author notes in connection with this, "that there is still a considerable number of difficult problems to be solved in the matter of ideological-political, work and moral education. But that which has already been achieved in the formation of the new man quite obviously shows that Lenin's vision is being realized in practice" (p 232).

Armed with Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU is confidently leading the Soviet people along the Leninist path. Our party is invariably guided by revolutionary theory in its revolutionary-transformative activity. Lenin, the founder of the new type of proletarian party and the brilliant theoretician and practitioner of revolution, left it to us to preserve our faithfulness to this theory. "In Lenin's creativity," M. S. Solomentsev said in the report "Leninism--the Science of Revolutionary Struggle and Communist Construction," "an unwavering faithfulness to the fundamental principles of the teaching of Marx and Engels and innovative boldness in working out the most difficult questions of science and revolutionary practice were organically united. He profoundly and comprehensively developed and augmented the ideological heritage of the great teachers of the workers class in conformity with the new historical conditions. Leninism is Marxism of the contemporary era, the creative, constantly developing theory and genuine science of revolutionary struggle and communist construction!" (p 223).

The creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory is a task in which the CPSU is constantly engaged, marching hand in hand here with fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of other, primarily socialist, countries. The most important problems that are placed on the agenda by the entire course of contemporary social development are profoundly and theoretically analyzed in the decisions of party congresses and the Central Committee plenums, in the resolutions of the latter and in speeches by party leaders. The 26th Party Congress and the November 1982 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums enriched the party's ideological arsenal with new propositions and conclusions.

The theoretical principles and propositions advanced by the CPSU, which contain a profound characterization of the level of social maturity reached by Soviet society, serve as the principled basis of the CPSU's strategic line in socialist and communist construction at the contemporary stage. The conclusion that our country is at the beginning of the historically lengthy stage of developed socialism has been comprehensively substantiated in the party documents of recent years. It is on the basis of these principled conclusions that the concept of a developed socialist society is now being concretized and that the socioeconomic coordinates within which we will have to operate are being defined more precisely. The evaluations and conclusions made by the party warn both against rushing ahead and against sluggishness in practical actions, in solving pressing problems and in overcoming existing shortcomings. It is important to constantly bear in mind that the comprehensive perfecting of developed socialism is a no less difficult task than its construction.

The tasks facing it were discussed in detail at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. As is known, the plenum called for a decisive turn by all social scientists toward practice, and primarily toward the problems of perfecting developed socialism.

Life and the practice of socialist construction make growing demands on all aspects of the activities of party organizations and of soviets of people's deputies. In the light of the book of the advanced experience of the organizational and ideological-educational work of various levels of party organizations, and of the experience of the economic-organizational and cultural-educational activity of Soviets of people's deputies is of great interest.

The qualitative transformation of productive forces and the perfecting of production relations determine the essence and main content of the activity of party, soviet and economic cadres at the contemporary stage.

The inexhaustible reserves for the powerful acceleration of the socioeconomic progress of the developed socialist society are hidden in the combination of the initiative and spontaneous activity of the masses on the one hand, and a scientific approach to solving pressing problems, as well as the purposeful organizational work of party organizations and of all management organs and sections, on the other.

Ideological-theoretical principles which reflect the achieved level and requirements of social development and the fundamental interests of working people lend the activity of the masses a profoundly conscious character and augment their energy. As theoretical conclusions become people's convictions and are realized in the actions of millions, they are verified by life and nourished by practice.

The mastering of the genuinely innovative and creative theoretical conclusions and principles of the party by all party and state cadres and by all working people essentially signifies a more accurate orientation of social awareness. The role of purposeful theoretical, ideological-educational and propagandist work in solving this task is exceptionally great.

The turn of social awareness towards an understanding of the need for a steep rise in the efficiency and quality of all work, for a significant acceleration of scientific-technical progress, and for truly proprietary and rational utilization of existing production potential is as yet far from complete. This understanding has not yet become a necessary element of contemporary economic thinking and the starting point for the practical actions of all party, soviet and economic workers without exception.

As is known, politics are conducted through people. The party has always considered the selection and deployment of cadres to be an effective means of actively influencing all aspects of the life of Soviet society, and an important factor in its progress. For precisely this reason, the Central Committee is today posing the question not only of the improvement of work with cadres, but also of cadre policy at the contemporary stage.

The book "A Time of Decisions and Actions" devotes a great deal of attention to work with cadres. As the author stresses, primary party organizations can do a particularly large amount to improve this work. "Precisely here," writes M. S. Solomentsev, "in the lower cells of the party, where the virtues and shortcomings of each worker are best seen, communists receive political tempering and gain practical experience of organizational and political work" (p 77).

The book convincingly speaks of how important it is to constantly teach cadres, to take care of their ideological-political education, to promote the development of criticism and self-criticism in every way possible, to show a high level of exactingness toward all workers, irrespective of the posts they occupy, to correct leaders who have committed errors in their work or personal behavior in good time, not to drive the disease inside, as they say, and not to let it start. Indulgence towards the shortcomings, errors and weaknesses of a leader frequently leads to the party's losing a worker irrevocably.

Unfortunately, some primary party organizations sometimes lack a principled attitude and an exactingness equally levelled at all workers, both ordinary workers and leaders. Liberalism and unjustified indulgence can only harm the people's education. In Soviet society and in our party there is one law and one discipline for all. And the demands made on leader-communists should be especially high.

"Educating workers in the spirit of a highly principled attitude means telling people the truth to their faces, openly and in plain terms, however bitter the truth might be, and revealing their shortcomings. Of course, it is necessary to respect cadres and trust them, but respect has nothing in common with pats on the back or an indulgent attitude to those who breach party and state discipline" (pp 72-73).

Raising the level of organization and strengthening party, state and production discipline are indissolubly connected with the control and verification of fulfillment. In the general system of political, organizational and educational measures being implemented by the party, control is becoming an increasingly effective instrument for deepening the

real democratic nature of Soviet society and for strict observance of social justice.

In contemporary conditions the task of perfecting party control is extraordinarily topical. "The strength of party control," write M. S. Solomentsev, "consists primarily in the fact that it is of a political nature and is invariably implemented from a position of all-party and all-state interests. And this means that no bureaucratic obstacles and no particular list or personal interests can hinder the ascertainment of the true state of affairs or the uncovering of the reasons which have given rise to a negative phenomenon in any sphere of social or socioeconomic life" (p 495).

In accordance with the directives of the CPSU Central Committee, the party control organs place the main emphasis in their activity not only on establishing the fact of infringement, on "catching" and exposure," to use Lenin's words, but primarily on thoroughly investigating the reasons for negative phenomena, and on determining methods of eliminating and preventing them. "...Finding a culprit in the person of a chief is only a very small portion of the work," wrote Lenin. The main thing is to "know how to correct," to "CARRY OUT the necessary practical changes in time, and to implement them in reality" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, pp 127, 129).

The immediate culprits of infringements and abuses discovered by the party control organs bear strict personal responsibility for them. At the same time, leaders of departments and enterprises and secretaries of party organizations are widely drawn in to participate in discussion of the results of the verification. This participation makes it possible to draw the necessary conclusions from the incident, to take measures to eliminate the causes of the shortcomings which have been exposed, to improve management and organizational activity and to raise the level of criticism and self-criticism in the collective.

One of the main tasks of party control is to preserve the purity of the party's ranks and to promote the strengthening of their unity and solidarity in every way possible. Serious violations of party and state discipline, misappropriation of socialist property, poor management, squandering, bribery and speculation have recently been discovered in the Krasnodar Kray, the Rostov Oblast, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Turkmenia, the Altay Kray and in the Kherson, Gomel, Alma-Ata and a number of other oblasts. This kind of crime arises when and where conditions favorable to it are formed: a situation of conceit, complacency, lack of control, connivance, sycophancy, favoritism and an absence of strict order in the accounting and expenditure of financial funds and material valuables.

"The measures outlined by the party to raise efficiency and organization in work and to strengthen legality and law and order," notes M. S. Solomentsev, "are not a short-term campaign. The implementation of these measures requires the unremitting efforts of all communists and the mobilization of all working people" (p 534).

The necessity of further strengthening discipline and order in all sectors of our life, of a growth in communists' activeness and of increasing their vanguard role in the life of labor collectives and the whole of society is authoritatively dictated not only by the tasks of putting our socialist house in order, but also by the complex international situation.

A considerable number of the collection's pages is devoted to analysis of foreign policy problems, of questions of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the socialist community and of the development of world revolutionary progress.

The pages of the book devoted to the external policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state speak of our country's love of peace and about the consistent struggle of the Soviet people to implement the Peace Program for the 1980s elaborated by the 26th CPSU Congress and to rally all peace-loving progressive forces of the planet.

At the 11 March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum M. S. Gorbachev stressed: "The time calls for intensive, creative work by all party organizations, from top to bottom. In all sectors and everywhere, communists should exemplify the fulfillment of civic duty, conscientiously work for the good of society, and everywhere assert the Leninist style in work. This primarily applies to party cadres and to party and state leaders. The CPSU will steadfastly pursue the line of intensifying exactingness and increasing responsibility for the assigned task."

M. S. Solomentsev called his book "A Time of Decisions and Actions." This title and, most important, the content of the works included in the book are profoundly in harmony with the concerns with which our glorious Leninist party and all Soviet people are now living.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. M. S. Solomentsev, "A Time for Decisions and Actions. Selected Speeches and Articles." Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, 558 pages.

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#### VALUABLE AND TIMELY PUBLICATION

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[Review by Academician A. Narochnitkiy and Prof V. Sirotkin, doctor of historical sciences, of the book "Sotsialisticheskaya Istoriya Frantsuzskoy Revolyutsii" [Socialist History of the French Revolution] by Jean Jaures. Volume I, books 1-2, A. Z. Manfred, editor; volumes II-VI, A. V. Ado, editor. Progress, Moscow, 1976-1983]

[Text] Jean Jaures (1859-1914) was one of the outstanding leaders of the French and international worker and socialist movements of the last third of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. His political and literary activities were not all of equal value. Jaures' reformist illusions, because of which he frequently acted as one of the leaders of the opportunistic wing of the Second International, are well-known. Nevertheless, a great deal of his legacy remains of durable value to the current generations of the fighters for peace, democracy and socialism.

As a socialist brimming with historical optimism and convinced of the eventual triumph of the socialist ideal, Jaures entered history as a passionate defender of democracy and a courageous fighter against militarism, war and imperialist colonial policy.

The most valuable feature in Jaures' literary and scientific legacy is his monumental study of the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the 18th century--"The Socialist History of the French Revolution"--the first edition of which came out in Paris between 1901 and 1904.

Written on the basis of a tremendous number of sources, in a vivid, talented and inspired style, Jaures' work resembles least of all a dry academic work. Above all, this was not a politically impartial work. "We wish, Jaures wrote in the introduction to the first volume, "to describe to the people, to the workers and peasants, from a socialist viewpoint, the events which occurred between 1789 and the end of the 19th century."

Lenin rated this work highly and described it, together with the book "Political History of the French Revolution," by another major specialist in this problem, A. Olard, as a "most useful work" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch."

[Complete Collected Works], vol 10, p 28). It is no accident that in Lenin's lifetime an effort was made to familiarize the workers and peasants of young Soviet Russia with this fundamental work by Jaures. Unfortunately, the publication could not be finished at that time. This makes it even more satisfying that, after a tremendous amount of work, Izdatel'stvo Progress was able to publish the full translation of the six-volume "Socialist History of the French Revolution" between 1976 and 1983.

We can only be pleased by the fact that this publication is of a very high scientific and printing standard. In addition to the text itself, which has been published in full, without abbreviations, the commentary ("Additional Remarks") written by A. Soboul, a Marxist historian and professor at the Sorbonne, found at the end of each volume, as well as the scientific notes accompanying the text, are of great value to the contemporary reader. In his work on the books, Jaures relied on huge amounts of documentary material. However, he had not equipped his definitive work with a scientific apparatus. Soboul's merit is that he did not only identify all the sources used by Jaures and created a scientific system, but that he also added extensive lists of contemporary publications. A. Manfred and A. Ado, the editors of the Russian edition, have included in this list works by Soviet historians, unfamiliar to the French scientist.

In a number of footnotes and his "Additional Remarks," Soboul has noted both the strong and weak parts of Jaures's study, including those inconsistent with contemporary knowledge of the French Revolution and those due to shortcomings in the author's methodology. The purpose of such tremendous and painstaking commentary, Soboul notes in the preface, was "to make Jaures's work a contemporary practical aid" (vol I, book 1, p 29).

One can only agree with this French Marxist historian: today's reader indeed needs Jaures's work. The purely scientific aspect of this work by no means accounts for its full importance. This definitive work has retained its social importance as well. Its relevance in the most acute struggle of ideas being waged in the contemporary world is unquestionable.

The "Socialist History of the French Revolution" is a description of one of the greatest revolutions of the past. It appeared at the turn of the 20th century, a century of tremendous revolutionary upheavals. In our days the processes transforming the social aspect of the world have assumed unparalleled scale and pace. No single country or nation has been able to avoid their impact. The collapse of the capitalist system in a significant part of the globe, the conversion of hundreds of millions of people to socialism, laying the foundations of a communist civilization, and the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system are indications of the revolutionary renovation of the planet.

It is natural for the problems of the social revolution to be in the center of attention of contemporary social thinking, to trigger the unabated interest of workers in a variety of scientific disciplines and to remain the focal point of the gravest possible ideological struggle. The efforts of bourgeois social science and propaganda are invariably aimed at trying somehow to substantiate and prove that the path of revolution is not a legitimate and necessary means

of the reorganization of society. In attacking the revolutions of our epoch and distorting their purpose and nature, bourgeois political experts, sociologists, philosophers and historians are trying to deprive the social revolutions of the past of historically positive content. They are even trying to revise the assessments of such revolutions offered in the past by bourgeois historiography.

In our days, the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the 18th century, a great revolution which, until 1917, was largely considered the classical model of a revolution, has become the target of precisely such revision. Naturally, the writing of its history has always involved scientific arguments and an intense ideological struggle. Today such arguments and struggle have become particularly sharp.

As early as the mid-1950s, A. Cobbman, the British bourgeois historian, described the French Revolution as merely a "myth," which meant, above all, "an interpretation of the revolution from the viewpoint of substituting the bourgeois capitalist order for feudalism." In rejecting this interpretation, C. Lefebvre, the outstanding French historian, who considered Jaures his mentor, raised the following question: How can the appearance of such a "mythical interpretation" of the revolution arise? His clear answer to the question was the following: "It seems unquestionable that it reflects the ideological evolution of the ruling class under the influence of democratic pressure, the Russian Revolution in particular; feeling itself threatened, it denies the mutiny of its forefathers..., considering it a dangerous precedent."

The diagnosis of this progressive scientist proved to be accurate. In the 1960s-1970s, something like a trend, which claimed a "reinterpretation" and "new conceptualization" of the French Revolution, developed in Western bourgeois historiography. Soboul described it as a "revisionist trend," bearing in mind the desire of its supporters to review (revise) the main conclusions and methods of the scientific approach characteristic of the works not only of Marxist but also left-wing bourgeois historians of the French Revolution.

This trend became international. Its "pioneers" were some British and U.S. historians of the 1950s-1960s (the already mentioned Cobbman, George Taylor, and others). Representatives of the current generation of the French bourgeois "Annales" school, such as F. Fure, E. Leroi Ladurie and others, are actively involved in the "reinterpretation" of the French revolution. During the 1970s a group of FRG historians, headed by E. Schmitt joined this campaign. The principal thesis of the newly hatched critics is the claim that this revolution was neither natural nor necessary. They are willing to acknowledge that the French Revolution triggered political and ideological changes but claim that, allegedly, it was not a decisive social coup d'etat. "Capitalism and the bourgeoisie," Fure writes, "did not need revolutions to appear and to dominate the history of the main European countries during the 19th century."

All of this, as a whole, is an attack not only on the French Revolution. This turns into a target the entire concept of Marxism-Leninism of the role of

social revolutions in the development of the historical process. As pointed out by the noted Soviet historian A. Mannfred, "the arrows aimed at the 18th century French revolution actually aim higher--these are arrows aimed at the Great October Socialist Revolution, the powerful Soviet Union and the world socialist system."

Attacks on the Marxist concept of revolution have become particularly intensified in connection with the approaching 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, preparations for which are already under way not only in France but in many other countries. The French right-wing circles are trying to make use of the forthcoming anniversary to mount new attacks on left-wing forces.

Jaures's work becomes particularly relevant in this context. Naturally, Jaures was not a consistent Marxist. In writing his "Socialist History of the French Revolution," he admits being inspired "by three sources: Marx, Michelet and Plutarch" (vol I, book 1, p 40). Jaures's reformist errors are apparent as well. Nevertheless, he wrote this book under the tremendous influence of Marxism. In the final account, it is precisely this which accounts for the strongest features in his work and determines its scientific and social value and striking longevity. To this day, this work convincingly counters many not only conservative and reactionary "critics" of the French Revolution, such as H. Taine, with whom Jaures argued heatedly, but also all current attempts at its notorious "reinterpretation" in resolving many basic problems.

Jaures did not doubt the profoundly historical legitimacy and socioeconomic determinism of the French Revolution. He saw it as a great bourgeois revolution, which was the result of the growth of capitalism and the economic power and political maturity of the bourgeoisie. In presenting the history of the revolution, he paid great attention to the popular movement and pointed at an entire set of new problems of the class struggle in town and country. Naturally, however, we should not ignore the fact that the inflated idea of the revolutionary possibilities of the bourgeoisie of that time was an inherent feature of the author.

Jaures regretted the irreconcilable gravity of the political struggle within the camp of the French Revolution, which was a manifestation of his methodological eclecticism and reformist illusions. He formulated assumptions on the possible "reconciliation of parties" through the Convention. His unquestionable merit, however, is that he considered the French Revolution as a social bourgeois revolution which legitimately stemmed from the contradictions within the old society and asserted a new and, at that time, still progressive bourgeois and capitalist system. He saw as its future the development of a qualitatively different--socialist--system related to the future triumph of the proletariat. Jaures was convinced that "the French Revolution indirectly prepared the enhancement of the proletariat. It prepared two essential conditions for socialism: democracy and capitalism" (vol I, book 1, p 33).

It was precisely the proletariat, the working people, that Jaures considered the true heir of the best democratic and humanistic traditions and values of the French Revolution. It was precisely the working class, he believed, which was justifiably the flag bearer of true democracy and which, in his words,

"all great forces of mankind--work, thinking, science, art, and even religion, conceived as the rule of mankind over the universe"--were awaiting their renovation and blossoming" (ibid., p 37). In his introduction to the work, Jaures wrote that he is beginning his socialist history with the bourgeois French Revolution and "comes to the preparatory period of the proletarian revolution." The author formulated his general conclusion of the historical evolution of mankind after the French Revolution as follows: "In Marx's view, we are still in the prehistorical period. The history of mankind will truly begin only when man, finally free of tyranny of blind forces, will control the production process himself, with his own intellect and will" (ibid., pp 38-39). Izdatel'stvo Progress has completed a very necessary and useful project by putting at the disposal of Soviet social scientists, teachers and students one of the first classical works on the history of the French Revolution, thus continuing the great tradition of translating into Russian the fundamental works of the luminaries of progressive social thinking. Another aspect of this publishing initiative is important as well: essentially, the Progress editors were the first to respond to the forthcoming celebration of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, to be held in 1989, thus making a valuable contribution to the ideological struggle waged by Marxist science against contemporary "interpreters," who are trying to eradicate the historical significance of the greatest of all early bourgeois revolutions of our time, in the struggle against which to this day Jean Jaures remains our ally.

It is regrettable however that considering the tremendous readership of our country, Jaures's work has been published in a relatively small edition, ranging from 5,500 to 8,000 copies. The initial volumes have already become a bibliographic rarity. Obviously, it would be expedient to reprint this work in a larger edition for the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution. It would be equally important to write a postscript to the last volume, so that the reader at large would understand even better the scientific relevance of Jean Jaures's work to the contemporary ideological struggle being fought on the subject of the historical significance of both the French and October revolutions.

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